A review of early christian life and language

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A NOTE ON THE DANCE OF JESUS IN THE "ACTS OF JOHN"

BY

W. C. VAN UNNIK

One of the most interesting episodes in the apocryphal "Acts of John" is that of Jesus' dancing with his disciples (ch. 94 ff.). Particularly interesting there is the great hymn Jesus sings with the constant "amen" of the disciples. Its phraseology is so peculiar and has such a "gnostic" ring that it has often attracted the attention of scholars, without yielding a generally accepted explanation. But the setting of this hymn is not less curious, for it is sung during a dance, and this feature is rather unique in the history of early liturgical traditions. Is it a sign of the "heretical" character of these Acts and what was its origin?

Jesus is reported to have said: "Before I am delivered up unto them (viz. the Jews) let us sing a hymn to the Father, and so go forth to that which lieth before us. He bade us therefore make as it were a ring, holding one another's hands, and himself standing in the midst he said: Answer Amen unto me".[1] Then follows a doxology and the hymn in which we underscore the following lines: "Grace danceth. I would pipe; dance ye all . . . The number Twelve danceth on high. The Whole on high hath part in our dancing. Whoso danceth not, knoweth not what cometh to pass . . .". Ch. 96 Jesus calls them to dance: "Now answer thou unto my dancing" and addresses his followers as "thou that dancest". This episode is closed in ch. 97 with the words of John: "Thus, my beloved, having danced with us the Lord went forth"; the disciples fly away and Jesus suffers.

At what occasion did Jesus make this dance? From ch. 97 one would get the impression that it is suggested to have happened while He was in Gethsemane (Matth. 26:30 ff. and parr.). On the other hand it seems more likely that this account takes the place of the description of the Passover-meal. Matthew (26:30) and Mark

[1] Translation of M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1924, p. 253 f.

(14:26) expressedly state that "they went out after having sung" and this is correctly taken by the commentators as a reference to the jewish practice of singing the Hallel-Psalms.[2] It is quite possible that the author of these Acts, leaving out many details of the Passion-story, has telescoped these two incidents into one. However that may be, neither in the New Testament accounts of the passion nor in other apocryphal traditions do we find anything which parallels this dancing. We look in vain for a clue in the collection of material about the jewish Passover-festival in Billerbeck's commentary.[3]

Was this feature an invention of the writer of these Acts of his own accord; did he describe a festival of an unknown sect where this dance had taken the place of the Lord's Supper? There is no commandment of repetition, given by Jesus here; the story is told as though it happened just before Jesus was delivered, only on that day with this particular group of disciples. So it is likely that it is a speciality of the author. But once more we may ask: was it an invention of his or does there exist a link with the jewish ritual?

To answer this question I should like to draw attention to a passage in the Homily of Bishop Melito of Sardis on the Passover, that gem of early Christian preaching which was so happily rediscovered in the last 25 years.[4] In a passage addressed to the jewish people Melito vividly recalls what they did when they put their Lord to death. His love of antithesis is also displayed in this description § 80[5]: Thou hast slain thy Lord in the Great Feast

> And thou wast of good cheer, but he was hungry;
> thou wast eating bread and drinking wine, but he vinegar and gall;
> thou was glad of countenance, but he was sad;

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[2] V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London 1952, p. 548.

[3] H. L. Strack – P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, München 1928, Bd. IV 1, S. 41–76.

[4] M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer XIII, Méliton de Sardes, Homélie sur la Pâque*, Cologny-Genève 1960, p. 9–13 on the rediscovery of this important homily in various stages.

[5] C. Bonner, *The Homily on the Passion by Melito, bishop of Sardis, and some fragments of the apocryphal Ezekiel*, London 1940, p. 141–143; M. Testuz, *l.c.*, p. 47–48.

thou wast rejoicing, but he was oppressed;
thou wast psalmsinging, but he was judged
(*σὺ ἔψαλλες, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐκρίνετο*)
thou gavest command, he was nailed (to the cross);
thou wast dancing, but he was being laid in the tomb
(*σὺ ἐχόρευες, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐθάπτετο*)
thou wast lying upon a soft cushion,[6] but he in the grave and the coffin.

It is clear that Melito contrasts here the various aspects of the jewish Passover-festival which was always celebrated with great joy,[7] and certain features of the Lord's Passion. And one element next to psalmsinging (see note 3) is here *dancing*! From this text we must conclude that the bishop of Sardis knew of a way of Passover-celebration, of which dancing formed a part. It may have been a particularity of the Jews in Asia Minor, about whose religious ceremonies we have no further information; it may be that Melito who visited Palestine (according to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* IV 26, 13), had seen it there. It is quite feasible that in some jewish circles the joy of Passover was expressed by dancing, since the festival was held in remembrance of the great exodus and such a dance was mentioned in the story of Exod. XV. One may also compare *Midrash Rabba* on *the Song of Songs* VII 1, 2 "can you provide us with such a dance as was provided for our ancestors by the Red Sea",[8] though this text clearly implies that the author of this saying did not know of such a practice.

However, the testimony of Melito is quite explicit. If it is correct that at his time there was a dance connected with the hymn-singing at the Passover-meal, it may explain the description given in the Acts of John. For the bishop of Sardis and the author of these Acts

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[6] Cf. Acts of John 96 "Thou hast me as a bed, rest upon me".

[7] This note is very clear in *Mishna Pesahim* X 5 God "brought us . . . from sorrow to gladness, and from mourning to a Festival-day" (translation of H. Danby, *The Mishnah*, Oxford 1933, p. 151).

[8] Translation of M. Simon, *Midrash Rabba*, London 1939, vol. IX, p. 276. — One may also compare the famous description of Philo, *De Vita Contemplativa* 84–86 about the dances of the Therapeutai, where it is expressedly stated that it was an imitation of the dances at the Red Sea during the exodus. But in this case the dance is not connected with Passover, but with the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost.

were contemporaries and lived in the same area.[9] The latter also knew of this practice; he used it for his description of the last supper which Jesus held with his disciples, and gave it through the words of the hymn a particular stamp (as Jesus Himself did when He according to the evangelists made the Passover-meal the meal of the "New Covenant").

This text of Melito may account for the origin of this particular feature in the Acts of John. The author did not invent it himself, but derived it from existing practice.

There is still another point which I should like to raise in this connection. In the same passage, quoted before from the *Midrash* on *the Song of Songs*, one finds a tradition from the 3rd century about an eschatological dance: "Can you furnish for us such a dance as that which the Holy One, blessed be He, will provide for the righteous in the time to come? For R. Berekiah and R. Ḥelbo and 'Ulla of Beri and R. Eleazar in the name of R. Ḥanina [10] said: The Holy One, blessed be He, will in the time to come lead the dance among the righteous, as it says, *Mark ye well her rampart* — ḥelah (Ps. 46:14), where it is written *ḥolah* (her dance); and they will point to Him with the finger, as it says, *For such is God, our God, for ever and ever; He will guide us eternally* — ʿal muth (*ib.* 15): that is, like maidens (*ʿalamoth*), like dances of the righteous".[11] The fact that a variant reading which is not found in the

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[9] On Melito cf. M. Testuz, *l.c.*, p. 7–9; on the "Acts of John" my article *Johannesakten*, in: *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*[3], Tübingen 1959, Bd. III, Sp. 821–822.

[10] The dates of these Rabbis as given in: J. Jeremias–K. Adolph, *Verzeichnis der Schriftgelehrten, Geographisches Register*, in: H. L. Strack–P. Billerbeck, *a.a.O.*, München 1961, Bd. VI, are as follows: S. 36 Ḥanina (b. Hama), Palestinian c. 225—S. 27 Berekiah, Palestinian c. 340—S. 39 Ḥelbo, Palestinian c. 300—S. 144 'Ulla of Beri, Babylonian c. 280—S. 50 Eleazar, Palestinian c. 270.

[11] The same tradition is found in *Midrash Rabba, Leviticus* XI 9 (translation of J. Israelstam, London 1939, p. 151) with a small change and addition after (*ib.* 15): "i.e. with youthfulness, with liveliness. Or '*almuth*' means 'like maidens' (*ʿalamoth*), as it is written, *In the midst of damsels* (ʿalamoth) *playing upon timbrels* (*ib.* LXVIII, 26). Aquila translated [the word *ʿalmuth*, Ps. XLVIII 15] *athanasia* [i.e. deathlessness, immortality; i.e. He will lead us to] a world in which there is no death. Or '*almuth*' means two, *ʿolamoth*, i.e. worlds, [the passage meaning], He will lead us in this world, and He will lead us in the World to Come".—Is it out of

Massoretic text [12] serves as a proof, shows that the idea of this eschatological dance was not derived from the O.T. text, but that a conception already in existence was afterwards strengthened by biblical testimony. The question may be posed whether there is any connection between this eschatological dance, attested for the first time in the beginning of the 3rd cent., but repeated by various rabbis, and the dancing in the Acts of John, the latter being an anticipation of the future event and typically christianized. I must confess that I have not found a satisfactory answer yet, but hope that the research of one of my pupils, the Rev. K. W. Slik (Rotterdam) will bring more light.

Bilthoven, Sweelincklaan 4

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place here to refer to a text at the end of Clement of Alexandria's, *Protreptikos* XII, 120, 2 where Clement says in the terminology of the mysteries: "If you will, be you also initiated; and you shall dance (χορεύσεις) along with the angels around the unbegotten and destructable and the only true God, while the Word of God sings with us"?

[12] As is correctly remarked by J. Israelstam, *l.c.*, p. 151, nt. 3.

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ERWÄGUNGEN ZUM „EVANGELIUM DER ÄGYPTER", INSBESONDERE ZUR BEDEUTUNG SEINES TITELS

VON

M. HORNSCHUH

In der dritten Auflage von E. Hennecke, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen [1] hat W. Schneemelcher eine Zusammenstellung der erhaltenen Fragmente des Ägypterevangeliums [2] und der über dieses Apokryphon erhaltenen Nachrichten aus der altkirchlichen Literatur vorgelegt.[3] Die Untersuchung des Materials ergibt, daß außer den Fragmenten bei Clemens Alexandrinus, „die ausdrücklich als Teile des Ägev. deklariert werden, fast nichts mit Sicherheit für dieses apokryphe Evangelium in Anspruch genommen werden kann." [4] Nach diesem Ergebnis ist es „beinahe sinnlos, noch irgendwelche präzisen Angaben über Inhalt, Aufbau, Charakter und Zeit des Ägev. zu versuchen." [5] Was sich mit völliger Sicherheit ausmachen läßt, ist nur dies: „Im 2. Jh. hat es in Ägypten ein Evangelium gegeben, das nach dem Land, in dem es benutzt wurde, bzw. nach seinen Bewohnern den Namen hatte." [6]

Nach der Behauptung des Clemens Alexandrinus [7] haben enkratitische Kreise, namentlich Julius Cassian, vom Ägev. Gebrauch gemacht. Daraus darf man keineswegs schließen, daß das Evangelium diesen Kreisen auch seine Entstehung verdanke. Dagegen sprechen die Aussagen des Klemens mit aller wünschenswerten Deutlichkeit: „Warum führen sie — die alles eher tun, als daß sie im evangelischen Kanon nach der Wahrheit wandeln — nun aber nicht auch das an, was auf die zu Salome gesprochenen Worte

[1] E. Hennecke, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung, 3. völlig neubearbeitete Auflage, hrsg. v. W. Schneemelcher, Bd. 1, Tübingen 1959.

[2] Im folgenden abgekürzt Ägev.

[3] S. 109 ff.

[4] S. 117.

[5] Ebd.

[6] Ebd.

[7] Strom. III, 45. 63–66. 91–93.

folgt? Denn als sie sagte: ‚So hätte ich also gut daran getan, nicht zu gebären‘, als ob es ungehörig sei, sich mit der Zeugung zu befassen, da antwortete der Herr und sprach: ‚Iß jede Pflanze, die aber, die Bitterkeit hat, iß nicht.‘“ [8] „Es kommt Clem. darauf an, klarzumachen, daß Ehe und Kinderzeugung genausowenig Sünde sind wie die Enthaltsamkeit.“ [9] Er kann sich dabei gerade gegen die Enkratiten auf das Ägev. berufen. Jedenfalls wirft Klemens, der keineswegs zu einer eindeutigen Ablehnung des Ägev. kommt,[10] seinen Gegnern einen unsachgemäßen Gebrauch desselben vor. Vom Evangelium gilt nicht, was von denen gilt, die es gebrauchen bzw. mißbrauchen, nämlich daß sie „der Schöpfung Gottes wegen der berüchtigten Enthaltsamkeit feindlich sind“.[11] Sie unterscheiden den Weltschöpfer, den Gott, „der der Ursprung des Entstehens sei“,[12] von dem guten Gott, dem Vater des Heilandes. Das entspricht nicht der Lehre des Ägev., wie ein Kommentar des Klemens zu einem der angeblichen Herrenworte aus diesem Evangelium lehrt: „Als Salome fragte: ‚Wie lange wird der Tod Macht haben?‘, sagte der Herr – nicht als ob das Leben etwas Schlechtes und die Schöpfung böse seien –: ‚Solange ihr Weiber gebärt‘ – um damit die natürliche Gesetzmäßigkeit zu lehren.“ [13] Es steht freilich nicht ganz fest, ob Klemens diese Worte im Sinne ihres Verfassers richtig interpretiert. Denn man kann das Ägev. ja auch so verstehen, als sei der Tod die unausweichlich sich einstellende Konsequenz der im Zeugungsvorgang sich auswirkenden Konkupiszenz. Damit wäre gesagt, daß der Tod in dem Augenblick seine Macht verlöre, da sich die Menschen zu vollkommener geschlechtlicher Enthaltsamkeit durchrängen. Aber auch dieser Standpunkt impliziert keineswegs eine radikale Schöpfungsfeindschaft. Hätte das Evangelium eine solche Haltung klar zum Ausdruck gebracht, dann hätte Klemens keineswegs gezögert, es radikal zu verwerfen. Nach alledem ist die Schrift nicht in einem ausgesprochen gnostischen, sondern in einem älteren enkratitischen Kreis Ägyptens entstanden,

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[8] Strom. III, 66, 1; Schneemelcher, S. 110.

[9] Schneemelcher a.a.O., S. 110.

[10] Vgl. A. Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius, 1. Teil: Die Überlieferung und der Bestand, Leipzig 1893, S. 13.

[11] Strom. III, 63; zitiert nach Schneemelcher, S. 109.

[12] Strom. III, 68, 3; ebd. S. 110.

[13] Strom. III, 45, 3; ebd. S. 109.

der sich von Julius Cassian und seinem Anhang und den anderen Gnostikern, die das Evangelium später gebrauchen, in wichtigen Zügen unterscheidet. Was diesen Gruppen das Ägev. trotz des Fehlens des kosmologischen Dualismus zum Gebrauch empfahl, war seine enkratitische Tendenz.

Zur Entstehung des Titels „Evangelium der Ägypter“ [14] hat W. Bauer folgende Erklärung gegeben [15]: Da es niemals einen Ketzerverband, die „Ägypter“ genannt, gegeben habe, wiese der Titel auf eine Zeit zurück, in der sich die Christen Ägyptens dieses Evangeliums, und zwar nur seiner, als ihres Lebens Jesu bedienten. Der Ausdruck *κατ' Αἰγυπτίους* bliebe unverständlich, wollte man sich den Sachverhalt so vorstellen, daß nur eine häretische Minderheit der ägyptischen Christen das Buch gebraucht habe, während sich die Mehrzahl der kanonischen Evangelien oder doch einiger von ihnen bedient habe. Ein Minderheitenevangelium könne niemals das Ägypterevangelium schlechthin heißen; und das „Matthäus- oder Lukasevangelium bildet überhaupt keinen annehmbaren, weil natürlichen Gegensatz zum Ägypterevangelium.“ [16] Nun führen dieselben Alexandriner, die das Ägypterevangelium erwähnen, Clem. Alex. und Origenes, ein anderes Evangelium unter dem Namen „Hebräerevangelium“ [17] an. Dieses ist mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit in der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts in griechischer Sprache und, wie Bauer annimmt, in Ägypten entstanden. „Hebräer“ heißen die griechisch sprechenden Juden, wenn es darauf ankommt, ihre Volkszugehörigkeit zu kennzeichnen.[18] Nach Bauers Vermutung ist das Hebräerevangelium das Leben Jesu der alexandrinischen Judenchristen gewesen. Im Gegensatz dazu war das Ägypterevangelium das Evangelium der „eigentlichen“ Ägypter, die Christen geworden waren, der ägyptischen Heidenchristen. So kommt Bauer zu dem Schluß, daß es in Ägypten

[14] Klemens kennt das Buch unter dem Titel *τὸ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγέλιον* (Strom. III, 63, 1; 93, 1). Die *κατά*-Konstruktion ist „hier wie in den gleichgebauten Überschriften der kanonischen Evangelien (*τὸ κατὰ Μαθθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον*) gutgriechischer Ersatz für den Genetiv“ (W. Bauer, Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei in der ältesten Christenheit, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 10, Tübingen 1934, S. 54).

[15] Ebd. S. 53 ff.

[16] S. 55.

[17] *Τὸ κατ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον.*

[18] Vgl. die Belege bei Bauer, S. 56.

am Anfang des zweiten Jahrhunderts Heidenchristen und Judenchristen, beide synkretistisch-gnostischer Richtung, gegeben habe, „aber offenbar nicht in einer Gesamtgemeinde vereint, sondern jede Gruppe um ein besonderes Evangelium geschart.“ [19]

Die These Bauers basiert auf der Voraussetzung, daß die gesamte nichtjüdische Einwohnerschaft, d.h. sämtliche „Heiden“ des Landes, als zu den „Ägyptern“ gehörig betrachtet wurden. Aber das ist nicht der Fall gewesen. Die Weltstadt Alexandrien mit ihrer griechischen Bevölkerung hat politisch nicht einmal als ein Teil Ägyptens gegolten.[20] Um so weniger galten ihre Einwohner als „Ägypter“.[21] Aber selbst im Hinterlande, im eigentlichen Ägypten, war die Bezeichnung „Ägypter“ nur einem bestimmten, durch sprachliche, ethnische und rechtliche Grenzen von der übrigen Einwohnerschaft klar unterschiedenen Teil der Gesamtbevölkerung vorbehalten. Es ist bekannt, daß der beträchtliche griechische Bevölkerungsanteil, der sich über das ganze Land verteilte, nicht unter die Kategorie der „Ägypter“ fiel, ja sich bewußt und mit Nachdruck vom Ägyptertum distanzierte. Von ihrer kulturellen Überlegenheit überzeugt, waren diese griechischen Bewohner des Landes auf die Erhaltung und Pflege hellenischer Sprache und Bildung bedacht. Die römische Verwaltung begünstigte das griechische Element. Es gab drei Städte, die – wie Alexandrien – rein griechisch waren: Naukratis, Ptolemais Hermeiou und Antinoupolis. Ihre Einwohner waren von der Kopfsteuer (*λαογραφία*) befreit und hatten das Recht der Selbstverwaltung. Sonst wurde die Kopfsteuer, eine festgesetzte, verhältnismäßig niedrige Summe, von allen dediticii (Provinzialen ohne römisches Bürgerrecht) ohne Rücksicht auf die Höhe des Einkommens erhoben. Zur Entrichtung des vollen Betrages war allein die ägyptische Landbevölkerung verpflichtet; die griechischen Bewohner der Provinzhauptstädte bezahlten einen geringeren Steuersatz.[22] Derartige Unterschiede in der Behandlung der Be-

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[19] S. 54.

[20] Vgl. Böhlig, Aegypten, in: Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Bd. 1, Bonn 1941, Sp. 130.

[21] Man unterschied ausdrücklich zwischen „Ägyptern“ und „Alexandrinern“; vgl. z.B. Philo von Byblos bei Eusebius, Praep. Ev. I, 9, 24.

[22] Die griechischen Einwohner der ländlichen Bezirke schlossen sich zu besonderen Organisationen zusammen. „The Greeks ... in the country

völkerung [23] seitens der Regierung trugen zur Vertiefung der Kluft bei, die ohnehin zwischen den Graeko-ägyptern und den Ägyptern im eigentlichen Sinne, den Nachkommen der Urbevölkerung, bestand. Der Umstand, daß Verwaltung, Justiz und Militärwesen sich einzig des Griechischen als der offiziellen Landessprache bedienten, ersparte den griechischen Siedlern die Pflicht, die Sprache der Eingeborenen zu erlernen, zwang diese hingegen, sich ebenfalls des Griechischen zu bedienen. Durch solche Verhältnisse begünstigt, vermochten die inmitten einer fremdrassigen und fremdsprachigen Bevölkerung auf dem Lande verstreut lebenden Griechen ihre Sprache zu behaupten und auch ihre kulturelle Eigenart zu wahren. Da die Zugehörigkeit zur griechischen Volksgruppe mit mehr oder weniger großen rechtlichen Vorteilen verbunden war und da die faktische Überlegenheit hellenistischer Bildung auf die Empfänglicheren unter den alten Bewohnern des Landes nicht ohne Eindruck blieb, so ist es nicht erstaunlich, daß auch viele Ägypter, besonders Angehörige der vermögenderen Schichten, sich einer totalen Hellenisierung ergaben und ihr ägyptisches Volkstum aufgaben.[24] Heiraten zwischen Ägyptern und Griechen kamen außer in den drei privilegierten griechischen Städten, deren Gesetze die Mischehe verboten, recht häufig vor.[25] Für den ägyptischen Teil bedeutete eine solche Heirat in der Regel

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districts were . . . organized in politeumata, with some (not fully ascertained) organization and their own laws" (H. I. Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest. A Study in the Diffusion and the Decay of Hellenism. Gregynog Lectures, Oxford 1948, S. 42). Auch die Zugehörigkeit zu solchen politeumata war mit gewissen rechtlichen Vergünstigungen verbunden.

[23] Selbst innerhalb der griechischen Stadtbevölkerung gab es bedeutende politische und soziale Rangunterschiede. So bestand also im römisch beherrschten Ägypten „a social hierarchy based on caste and privilege; and a favoured treatment for the hellenized population of the towns over the rural and native Egyptian populace" (H. I. Bell, ebd. S. 74).

[24] Vgl. Bell, ebd., S. 42.

[25] Vgl. Bell a.a.O.; ferner H. I. Bell, Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Being the Forwood Lectures for 1952. Liverpool Monographs in Archaelogy and Oriental Studies, ed. H. W. Fairman, Liverpool 1953, S. 60; ferner S. Davies, Race-Relations in Ancient Egypt. Greek, Egyptian, Hebrew, Roman. London 1951, S. 54.

den Übergang zum Griechentum.[26] Die große Masse der ägyptischen Bauern- und Arbeiterbevölkerung bewahrte dagegen ihre nationale Eigenart, ihre Sprache, ihre überkommene Lebensweise und ihren – Haß gegen alles Fremde. Sie ist es, die man verächtlich als *οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι* bezeichnete. Charakteristisch für die Einschätzung der Ägypter bei den griechischen Bewohnern des Landes ist ein Stück aus einem bei Oxyrrhynchos gefundenen Brief: *ἴσως με νομίζετε, ἀδελφοί, βάρβαρόν τινα ἢ Αἰγύπτιον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι. ἀλλὰ ἀξιῶ μὴ οὕτως ἔχειν.*[27] Wir ersehen daraus, wie gering das Ansehen der eigentlichen Ägypter gewesen sein muß. Man beachte auch die Urteile des Alexandriners Origenes über die Ägypter,[28] z.B.: „nec usquam divina lex curam gerit libertatis Aegyptiae, quia eam sponte perdiderant, sed aeterno eos conditionis iugo ac servituti perpetuae derelinquit“ (Hom. in Genes. XVI, I).[29] Bis zur Zeit des Caracalla galten die Ägypter im Unterschied zu der bevorrechtigten Kategorie der Griechen und den cives Romani rechtlich als dediticii.[30] Es ist daher verständlich, daß die griechischen Bürger des Landes entschieden auf ihrer hellenischen Abkunft und Volkszugehörigkeit bestanden, sich bewußt von der als „Ägypter“ bezeichneten Masse

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[26] Vgl. Davies a.a.O.; ferner Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great etc., S. 61: „The Greeks, on their side, though . . . mixed in blood and in various ways Egyptianized, clung perhaps all the more, for that reason, to their Hellenic traditions.“

[27] Pap. Ox. XVI 1681; hier zitiert nach Davies, S. 62. Vgl. auch Davies ebd.: „The tendency in the nome-capitals was to look down on the Egyptians of the villages as barbarians just as the Alexandrians had always done. Thus we see how the Roman conquest widened the gulf between Egyptian and Greek in the Chora.“

[28] Zusammengestellt bei A. Harnack, Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes, TU 42, 3, 1918, S. 51 f.

[29] Über das Ansehen der Ägypter bei den Römern belehrt uns eine beiläufige Bemerkung bei Cicero, De natura deorum I, 36, 101; ed. G. F. Schoemann, Berlin 1876, S. 92: „Ipsi, qui irridentur, Aegyptii . . .“

[30] Vgl. H. I. Bell, P. Giss. 40 and the Constitutio Antoniniana, in: The Journal of Egyptian Archeology 28, London 1942, S. 39–49, bes. S. 39: „The only dediticii left in the Empire at the time of the Constitutio Antoniniana were the Egyptians *λαογραφούμενοι* . . . The Egyptians in this sense were the rural population; the privileged inhabitants of the metropolis cannot . . . be classed along with the *ἐγχώριοι* of the nomes, as, in the legal sense, ‚Egyptians‘.“

der politisch fast rechtlosen Untertanenbevölkerung unterschieden[31] und keinesfalls als „Ägypter" angesehen zu werden wünschten.[32]

Dieser Sachverhalt führt zu Bedenken gegen W. Bauers These über die Entstehung des Titels „Evangelium der Ägypter". Denn da die Bezeichnung „Ägypter" nach landesüblichem Sprachgebrauch den alten Einwohnern des Landes vorbehalten blieb, für diese jedoch keinerlei Berührung mit dem Christentum bereits in der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts bezeugt ist, ist es unmöglich, daß das Evangelium unter diesem Titel in Ägypten verfaßt wurde, ja daß es überhaupt unter dieser Bezeichnung in Ägypten zirkuliert habe.[33] Wollte man das dennoch behaupten, müßte man voraussetzen, daß es schon im zweiten Jahrhundert unter den ägyptischen „Barbaren" eine christliche Gemeinde (enkratitischen Charakters!) gegeben habe. Aber das wäre eine zu gewagte Annahme. Heidenchristen konnte es im zweiten Jahrhundert nur unter den Griechen geben, unter den Ägyptern nur vereinzelt, sofern sie in den Städten lebten und den Anschluß an das Griechentum gewonnen hatten. Der einzige in Frage kommende völkisch-nationale Gegensatz war jedenfalls in der ältesten Zeit auch für die ägyptische Kirche der von Juden und Griechen. Darum ist es sehr schwer vorstellbar, daß man durch die Namen „Evangelium der Hebräer" und „Evangelium der Ägypter" die Haupterbauungsbücher der Juden- und Heidenchristen voneinander unterschieden hätte. Niemals hätten sich die griechischen Christen zu

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[31] Auch in christlichen Kreisen Ägyptens unterschied man zwischen „Griechen" und „Ägyptern". Noch Dionysius von Alexandrien unterscheidet unter den Märtyrern Ägyptens ausdrücklich die Ägypter von den Griechen (bei Eusebius, Hist. eccl. VI, 41, 19. 20).

[32] Es soll nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß für einige gnostische Richtungen die Bezeichnung *οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι* als Äquivalent für „die Unreinen" (Act. Thom. 109) und „die Unwissenden" (Peraten bei Hippolyt, Ref. V, 16, 5) gebraucht wurde. Ähnlich Clem. Alex., der in Strom. II, 18, 88,2 Deut. 23,7 LXX zitiert und dazu bemerkt, daß *Αἰγύπτιος* hier *τὸν ἐθνικὸν ἢ καὶ πάντα τὸν κοσμικόν* (Stählin, Clem. Alex., Bd. 2, GCS 52, S. 160, Z. 7 f.) bezeichne. Vgl. auch U. Treu, On the Allegorical Use of the Term "Egypt" in Patristic Exegesis, Oxford 1959.

[33] A. Harnack meint: „Der Name Ägypterevangelium scheint nicht der feste und einzige Name gewesen zu sein" (Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur, Bd. 1, S. 13). Anlaß zu dieser Vermutung gibt der Umstand, daß Clem. Alex. in Strom. III, 66 nicht wie sonst vom „Ägypterevangelium", sondern von den „zu Salome gesprochenen Worten" redet.

einem „Evangelium der Ägypter" bekannt. Die beiden Titel sind unabhängig voneinander und ohne jede Beziehung zueinander entstanden. Angesichts dieser Lage der Dinge ist es nun allerdings überhaupt unmöglich, daß der Titel „Evangelium der Ägypter" in Ägypten entstanden ist. Er kann nicht in Ägypten, sondern nur im Ausland aufgekommen sein, wo man leicht jede in Ägypten ansässige oder dort geborene Person – auch wenn sie jüdischer oder griechischer Abstammung war – in Unkenntnis des in Ägypten üblichen Sprachgebrauches als „Ägypter" bezeichnen konnte.

Die These, daß der Titel des Ägev. außerhalb Ägyptens entstanden ist, wurde bereits von A. Schmidtke [34] vertreten. Schmidtke denkt an Rom, „wo die aus Ägypten stammenden Karpokratianer um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts eine erfolgreiche Propaganda entfalteten und, wie heute die Methodisten in Rom als die Amerikaner, leicht als die „Ägypter" bezeichnet werden konnten. Denn daß diese Leute das Ägypterevangelium gebrauchten, ergibt sich mit genügender Sicherheit daraus, daß sie nach Celsus der Salome, die in jenem Evangelium die Rolle einer Ausfragerin des Herrn spielte, als Autorität folgten." [35]

Die Meinung, daß der Titel, unter dem wir das Apokryphon kennen, in Rom entstanden sei, ist und bleibt eine Hypothese, der man freilich ihre gute Begründung nicht absprechen kann. Mit Sicherheit können wir dagegen nur behaupten, daß der Name nicht in Ägypten entstanden ist.

Wir fassen das Ergebnis der Untersuchung folgendermaßen zusammen: Das „Evangelium der Ägypter" ist niemals das Hauptevangelium aller ägyptischen Heidenchristen im Gegensatz zu den Judenchristen gewesen. Es verdankt seine Entstehung einem älteren Kreis ägyptischer Enkratiten, den wir mit keinem der uns überlieferten Sektennamen in Zusammenhang zu bringen vermögen. Späteren Gnostikern hat das Apokryphon, das wir nicht als Dokument einer konsequenten Gnosis ansprechen dürfen, als Autorität gegolten. Der Titel „Evangelium der Ägypter" kann nicht in Ägypten, sondern nur im Ausland entstanden sein.

56, *Wuppertal–Barmen*, Missionsstrasse 13

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[34] Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien, TU 37, 1, Leipzig 1911, S. 140 [1].

[35] S. 55 f.

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TERTULLIANEA

BY

P. G. VAN DER NAT

I. The Text of De Cultu Feminarum, II. 2

A satisfactory edition of Tertullian's *De cultu feminarum* is not yet available.[1] The purpose of the present notes is to suggest some corrections of the constitution of the text of the second chapter of book II which may serve to illustrate once more the different character and value of the two main branches of the manuscript tradition of this treatise.[2]

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[1] The best edition available is that by W. Kok (*Tertullianus. De cultu feminarum, met inleiding, vertaling en commentaar*, Thesis Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Dokkum 1934). Although this edition is far from satisfying, especially with regard to the translation and interpretation, it is to be preferred to those by F. Oehler (*Q. S. F. Tertulliani quae supersunt omnia*, Leipzig 1853/4, 1, p. 699 sqq.), Aem. Kroymann (C.S.E.L. LXX, Vienna 1942, p. 59 sqq., reprinted in the Corpus Christianorum, Ser. Lat. I, 1, Turnholt 1954, p. 341 sqq.), and J. Marra (*Q. S. Tertulliani De corona liber, De cultu feminarum libri duo*, Turin ^{2}1944).

[2] The text of *Cult. fem.* has come down to us on the one hand in the *Codex Agobardinus, s.* IX (A), the oldest existing manuscript of Tertullian's works, on the other hand in a number of manuscripts of the fifteenth century, all of which go back to a *Corpus Cluniacense*, and which can be divided into the following classes: 1. *The Cod. Florentinus Magliabechanus* VI, 9 (N), closely related to the lost *Cod. Gorziensis* (G) which was used by Beatus Rhenanus for the third impression of his edition of Tertullian's works (Basle 1539, R^{3}). 2. On the one hand the *Cod. Florentinus Magliabechanus* VI, 10 (F) with a number of Italian manuscripts derived from it, on the other a *Leidensis* (L) and a *Vindobonensis* (V), all of which by way of a lost manuscript of Pforzheim go back to a likewise lost *Cod. Hirsaugiensis* used by Rhenanus for the first impression of his edition (Basle 1521, R^{1}). 3. A *Cod. Luxemburgensis* (X) which was copied directly from the *Hirsaugiensis*, cf. Ph. Borleffs, *Zur Luxemburger Tertullianhandschrift*, Mnemosyne III, 2 (1935), 299/308, and C.S.E.L. LXXVI (Vienna 1957), p. 136/7. This manuscript has not been used by any of the editors of the treatise. – See E. Kroymann, *Die Tertullian-Überlieferung in Italien* (Sitz. Ber. Akad.

Tertullian begins the second book 'On the Dress of Women' by stating that he addresses himself to Christian women out of anxiety about their salvation, which is based first of all on their chastity. From God's commandments it is sufficiently clear that man is bound to practise chastity. Therefore Tertullian only wants to deal with a special aspect of it, which is the care of one's outward appearance. For from real or feigned ignorance many Christian women behave as if chastity only consists in abstaining from lechery, and as if it does not also affect matters of outward appearance, dress and finery. On these points they do not differ from heathen women, who do not know real chastity, and who by their dress and make-up aim at the very thing of which they want to avoid the effect. "*Quid mirum? Perversa sunt omnia quae dei non sunt.*" Christian women, however, ought to distinguish themselves from heathen ones also in their outward appearance, because they ought to be perfect like the Father in Heaven (Matt. 5, 48).

After these introductory remarks the first section of the second chapter reads as follows [3]:

1. Perfectae, id est Christianae pudicitiae appetitionem sui non tantum non appetendam, sed etiam exsecrandam vobis sciatis. Primo quod non de integra conscientia venit studium placendi per decorem, quem naturaliter invitatorem libidinis scimus — quid igitur excitas in te malum istud? quid invitas cuius te profiteris extraneam? — tum quod temptationibus viam aperire non debemus, quae nonnumquam, quod deus a suis abigat, instando perficiunt, certe vel spiritum scandalo permovent.

The most important variant in this section is found in l. 1, where instead of *perfectae . . . pudicitiae*, the reading of A adopted

Wien 138, 1898), *Kritische Vorarbeiten fur den III. und IV. Band der neuen Tert.-Ausgabe* (*Ibid.* 143, 1901), and the Prefaces to C.S.E.L. XLVII and LXX. The best and most detailed summary is given by J. H. Waszink in the introduction to his translation of the *Adversus Hermogenem* (Ancient Christian Writers 24, Westminster, Maryland–London 1956).

[3] As the proposed corrections are largely based on the interpretation of the argument as a whole, it would seem best to quote the entire text. I give the text in what is in my opinion the correct form. – Quotations from Tert.'s works are given according to the edition in the *Corpus Christianorum* (Turnholt 1954), unless the editor has been mentioned.

by Oehler and Kok, Kroymann and Marra with the other MSS. read *perfectae autem . . . pudicae*. No doubt the latter reading is incorrect, being caused by the erroneous endeavour to connect this passage closely with the last sentence of chapter 1: *Vos ab eis* (*sc.* feminis nationum), *ut in ceteris, incessu quoque divertere necessarium est, quoniam perfectae esse debetis, sicut pater vester, qui est in caelis.* In this sentence *perfectae* has absolute meaning which includes also chastity and its manifestation in behaviour (cf. *incessu quoque*). So in the first sentence of chapter 2 the word *pudicae* is entirely superfluous, if we assume that *perfectae*, explained by *Christianae*, is the principal word and is used with the same meaning as in the last sentence of chapter 1 (the same holds in case *Christianae* (*sc.* feminae) *pudicae* is taken to be an apposition to *perfectae*). On the other hand, if *pudicae* is considered to be the principal word, *perfectae, id est Christianae pudicae* must have been used here instead of *perfecte, id est Christiane* (adverb) *pudicae*, which is rather odd. The conjunction *autem* also serves to connect this sentence closely with the preceding one, and must for that reason be regarded as incorrect as well. Its insertion is certainly connected with the alteration of *pudicitiae* into *pudicae*.

Tertullian here starts the discussion of the subject announced in 2, 1, 2: *Sed modo nos non de pudicitia, cui indicendae et exigendae sufficiunt instantia ubique divina praecepta, verum de pertinentibus* [4] *ad eam, id est qualiter vos incedere oporteat.* The perfect, Christian chastity, which detests to be an object of lust, contrasts with the chastity of the heathen, cf. 2, 1, 3: *Nam et si qua in gentilibus pudicitia credi potest, usque adeo imperfactam et inconditam constat, ut, licet in animo aliquatenus tenax sui agat, in habitus* [5] *tamen licentia sese dissolvat, pro perversitate gentilium appetendo cuius rei devitat effectum.*

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[4] A has *pertinentibus*. As Tert. often omits the preposition in the second member, this is probably correct, although the distance from *de pudicitia* is rather great; cf. e.g. *Iei.* 7, 1: *In nullo magis procuratam audimus dei clementiam quam abstinentia populi* (*in abst.* Reiff.). See E. Löfstedt, *Zur Sprache Tertullians* (Lund 1920), p. 61 sqq.

[5] A has *ambitus*, which is certainly the correct reading. The interior of these women *(animus)* is contrasted to the external appearance enclosing it, cf. e.g. *Cult. fem.* 2, 7, 3: *Videbo, an cum cerussa et purpurisso et croco et in illo ambitu capitis resurgatis*; *Virg. vel.* 7, 4: *Ornatus* (*sc.* virginum) *ipse proprie sic est, ut concumulata* (*sc.* redundantia capillorum) *in verticem*

The construction of the sentence presents some difficulties. According to Kok, *perfectae . . . pudicitiae* (*sc.* esse) is a genitive, *vobis* a dative of agent belonging to *appetendam* and *exsecrandam*; he translates: "It belongs to perfect, i.e. Christian, chastity, as you should know, not only that you ought not to desire to be an object of lust but that you should even detest this." [5a] However, this interpretation is impossible, since, for one thing, *sui* does not fit in with *appetitionem . . . exsecrandam vobis* [6], and, for another, *perfectae pudicitiae (esse)* can only be linked to a word expressing a quality (a substantive or an infinitive), not to a gerundive indicating a duty. Hence *perfectae . . . pudicitiae* must be interpreted as a dative of agent belonging to *appetendam . . . exsecrandam* (*sc.* esse); here we have a personification of *pudicitia* similar to the one in the passage of 2, 1, 3 quoted above.[7] This implies that *vobis* belongs to *sciatis*.[7a] Kroymann regards *vobis*

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ipsam capitis arcem ambitu crinium contegat. Of course *ambitus* carries the connotation of 'ostentation, show', for which one may compare e.g. Prud. *Cath.* 10, 46/8: *Hinc resolutos / honor ultimus accipit artus, / et funeris ambitus ornat.* See Thes. l. Lat. I: 1862, 45 sqq.

[5a] Translated from Kok's Dutch text: "Tot de volmaakte, dat is de christelijke kuisheid behoort, zoals gij moet weten, dat gij niet alleen niet moogt begeren om een voorwerp der begeerte te zijn, maar dat zelfs moet verfoeien."

[6] Tert. does not know the use of *suus* as a pronoun for another than the third person; see for this Stolz–Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 5. Aufl., 2. Lief.: *Syntax und Stilistik*, neubearb. von J. B. Hofmann (Munich 1928), p. 470/1; J. Svennung, *Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache* (Uppsala 1935), p. 315; J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, 2 (Basle ^{2}1928), p. 95/6.

[7] Tert. likes these personifications, cf. e.g. *Idol.* 1 (30, 20/4 Reiff.–Wiss.): *Idololatria fraudem deo facit honores illi suos denegans et conferens aliis, ut fraudi etiam contumeliam coniungat. . . . idololatria de homicidii reatu non liberatur*; *Iei.* 7, 4: *Per hanc maeroris sequelam et inediam etiam civitas illa peccatrix Ninive de exitio praedicato liberatur. Satis enim paenitentia scelerum commendaverat* (*sc.* eam) *ieiunium triduo functa* (*functam* Reiff.); *An.* 3, 2: *Per philosophatas doctrinas hominum miscentes aquas vino.* More instances are given by G. Thörnell, *Studia Tertullianea* (Uppsala 1918/1926), 1, p. 36/42; cf. also G. Säflund, *De Pallio und die stilistische Entwicklung Tertullians* (Lund 1955), p. 111. – In *Cult. fem.* 2, 1, 3 Kok takes as the subject of *agat, dissolvat,* and *devitat* 'a heathen woman', which is obviously incorrect.

[7a] In paragraph 5 (l. 41/2) Tert. writes: *confictae et elaboratae pulchritudinis suggestum recusandum a vobis sciatis*!

sciatis as an equivalent of *consciae vobis sitis*. This yields a good meaning, but as far as I know such a use of the dative of the reflexive pronoun (or of a personal pronoun) with *scire* does not occur in Tertullian.[8] *Vobis* must be a *dativus commodi* (=*salutis vestrae causa* 'for your own sake, for your salvation').[9]

The remaining variants in this paragraph hardly need comment. In l. 5 the editors rightly prefer the reading of A, *quid igitur excitas in te*, to *quid igitur in te excitas*, offered by the other MSS., on account of the parallelism with the following *quid invitas*. In l. 8. too, the universally accepted reading of A, *spiritum scandalo*

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[8] Under the heading 'dativus ethicus' V. Bulhart (C.S.E.L. LXXVI, p. XVII, cf. *Tertullian-Studien*, Sitz. Ber. Österr. Akad. Wiss., Philos.-hist. Kl., 231, 5, Vienna 1957, nr. 82) gives two cases in which the dative of the reflexive pronoun is joined on to a verb. The first is *Fuga* 10, 1: *Sed omissis quidam divinis exhortationibus illum magis Graecum versiculum saecularis sententiae sibi adhibent: qui fugiebat, rursus sibi proeliabitur.* Here Tert. alludes to a pronouncement of Demosthenes after the battle of Chaeronea, reported by Aul. Gell. 17, 21: *Philippus apud Chaeroneam proelio magno Athenienses vicit. Tum Demosthenes orator ex eo proelio salutem fuga quaesivit, cumque id ei, quod fugerat, probrose obiceretur, versu illo notissimo elusit: 'Ανήρ, inquit, ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται.* If *sibi* is correct (it is found in NXLV according to Bulhart, in NX according to Thierry, who does not adopt it in the text, as neither do Oehler and Marra) and if it has not been inserted under the influence of the preceding *sibi adhibent*, I believe that it should not be interpreted as a *dativus ethicus* but as a *dativus commodi*, which was possibly added to make Demosthenes' pronouncement, referring to a patriotic struggle, applicable to the present issue, viz., the martyrium which to the Christian himself is a *bonum* rewarding him with *laus*. The second instance is *Scorp.* 2, 7: *cave tibi, ne eqs.*, a quotation of Deut. 12, 30, in which *sibi* has evidently been added under the influence of the Greek text *(πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ)*. The examples given by Bulhart from other authors have been largely borrowed from E. Löfstedt (*Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, Oxford–Uppsala–Leipsic ²1936, p. 140/3) and J. B. Hofmann (*o.c.*, p. 546) and refer to highly vulgar and (or) late texts. For the reflexive construction of verbs, with the dative of the reflexive pronoun, cf. also A. H. Salonius, *Vitae Patrum* (Lund 1920), p. 265 sqq.; J. Svennung, *Orosiana* (Uppsala 1922), p. 66.

[9] Several examples of this rather loosely constructed type of *dativus commodi* are given by Thörnell, *o.c.*, 2, p. 42/7; cf. also H. Hoppe, *Syntax und Stil des Tertullian* (Leipsic 1903), p. 26. None of these examples, however, refers to *sibi*. For *sibi* as a *dativus commodi* with *scire* cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 282/3: Pa. *Quid id est facinus?* Sc. *Inpudicum.* Pa. *Tute scias soli tibi, Mihi ne dixis, scire nolo*; Sen. *Epist.* 6, 4: *nec me ulla res delectabit, . . . quam mihi uni sciturus sim.*

permovent (*spiritu scandalum permovent* in the other MSS.), is certainly the correct one: *scandalo permovent* finds its parallel in *instando perficiunt*; for *spiritum permovent* one may compare the explanation in *Spect.* 15. Incorrect readings of A, on the other hand, are *quod* (before *invitas*, l. 5) and *perficiuntur* (l. 8). In the first case the copyist of the Agobardinus (or his model) has interpreted an abbreviation incorrectly, in the second he has read or inserted one in a place where it had not been before.

2. Debemus quidem ita sancte et tota fidei substantia incedere, ut confisae et securae simus de conscientia nostra optantes perseverare id in nobis, non tamen praesumentes. Nam qui praesumit, minus iam veretur, qui minus veretur, minus praecavet, qui minus praecavet, plus periclitatur. Timor fundamentum salutis est, praesumptio impedimentum timoris. Utilius ergo, si speremus nos posse delinquere quam si praesumamus non posse. Sperando enim timebimus, timendo cavebimus, cavendo salvi erimus. Contra si praesumamus, neque timendo neque praecavendo salvi erimus. Qui securus agit, non et sollicitus, non possidet tutam et firmam securitatem. At qui sollicitus est, is vere poterit esse securus.

In this passage the arguments of paragraph 1 — *non de integra conscientia venit studium placendi* (a) and *temptationibus viam aperire non debemus* (b) — are explained more fully. *Confisae et securae . . . de conscientia nostra* refers to (a), *optantes . . . non tamen praesumentes* to (b). Therefore the editors are correct in making *debemus quidem* the opening words of a new paragraph. They are wrong, however, in introducing a caesura after *praesumptio impedimentum timoris*: what follows is too closely connected with the foregoing to warrant the creation of a new paragraph.

Less important variants are: l. 11 *confisae* A V, *confessae* the other MSS.; l. 12 *praesumentes* A, *praesumere* the other MSS.; l. 13 *iam* A, omitted by the other MSS. In all these cases the reading of A is certainly the correct one.[10] It is remarkable that *qui minus veretur* (l. 13), *qui minus praecavet* (l. 14), *quam si*

[10] In l. 10 Franciscus Iunius (in his edition of Tert.'s works, Franeker 1597) reads: *ex tota fidei substantia incedere*. However, the addition of a preposition is unnecessary, cf. *Idol.* 9 (38, 30/1 Reiff.–Wiss.): *ne pristina secta sua incederent* (*sc.* magi).

praesumamus non posse (l. 16/7) have been left out in all other manuscripts: all of these omissions are caused by two parts of the sentence ending in the same word, a mistake which in many other places is characteristic of the Agobardinus itself.[11]

In l. 13 we find *namque* in A instead of *nam qui*. This must obviously be read as *nam quae*. The feminine form cannot be correct considering the following *qui . . . veretur, . . . qui . . . praecavet*, but it can be accounted for by the preceding *debemus . . ., ut confisae et securae simus.* [12]

In l. 19 the younger MSS. read *cavendo*, which is adopted by Kroymann, whereas A has *precando*.[13] Of course the latter reading is incorrect. The mistake is best explained by assuming that the original reading was *praecavendo*, which was admitted into the text by Rigaltius (in his edition of Tertullian's works, Paris 1634) and adopted by Oehler, Marra, and Kok. It is supported by the fact that also in l. 13/4 we find the verb *praecavere* following *qui praesumit*; in the preceding sentence (l. 17/8), however, the form of the simple verb *(cavendo)* is used for the sake of parallelism with *sperando* and *timendo*.

In the same sentence Marra and Kroymann follow the younger MSS. by reading *difficile salvi erimus* instead of *salvi erimus* (A, Oehler, Kok). Evidently the reading of A is the *lectio difficilior* and warranted by the preceding *cavendo salvi erimus*. The insertion of *difficile* must be ascribed to an erroneous interpretation of the sentence. Probably *neque timendo neque (prae)cavendo* has been regarded as an equivalent of *cum neque timeamus neque praecaveamus* 'as (because of the fact that) we are neither afraid nor careful' [13], after which *salvi erimus* did not fit.[14] It is evident from the

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[11] A has *quam si praesumamus non posse* (l. 16) and *timendo cavebimus* (l. 18) twice. This mistake is the opposite of omission by 'homoioteleuton'.

[12] *Debemus . . ., ut confisae et securae simus* is a very striking example of the so-called *pluralis inclusivus*, by which the speaker brackets himself with his audience; see J. Schrijnen–Chr. Mohrmann, *Studien zur Syntax der Briefe des hl. Cyprian* (Nimeguen 1936), 1, p. 68.

[13] According to Kroymann's critical apparatus A has *precando* instead of *cavendo* in l. 18. This is obviously a mistake.

[14] Marra makes another mistake. He puts a comma after *praecavendo* and joins *neque timendo neque praecavendo* on to *praesumamus*. This is impossible, since the lack of fear and caution is the effect of *praesumptio*, not its cause (*praesumptio impedimentum timoris*). — Kok follows the

parallelism with the preceding gerunds *sperando . . . timendo . . . cavendo* that the ablatives *timendo* and *praecavendo* can only have an instrumental-causal meaning. On the other hand, the sentence 'if we are possessed by a proud self-confidence, we shall be preserved neither by fear nor by caution' cannot be interpreted in such a way, that the *praesumptio* itself is enough to make salvation impossible, even if we are afraid or careful; this interpretation creates a contradiction between main clause and sub-clause, as Tertullian has just stated that *praesumptio* prevents fear and caution. Tertullian's argument is that fear and its corollary, caution *(timendo cavebimus)*, form the basis of salvation *(timor fundamentum salutis)*, that is, that they guarantee salvation, make it secure *(cavendo salvi erimus; qui sollicitus est, is vere poterit esse securus)*. *Praesumptio*, on the other hand, prevents the entertaining of fear *(praesumptio impedimentum timoris)*, hence takes away the certainty of salvation, the safety *(qui securus agit, non et sollicitus* [15], *non possidet tutam et firmam securitatem)*. Therefore, if we are afflicted with *praesumptio (si praesumamus)*, it will be neither fear nor caution which will bring about our salvation *(neque timendo neque praecavendo salvi erimus)*. The point is that in a case of *praesumptio* salvation is not made impossible, but that the certainty, created by *timere* and *praecavere*, is taken away. Yet even then the possibility remains that God's mercy will see to it that this imprudence does not lead to harmful consequences, as Tertullian indicates in the following.

3. Et de suis quidem servis deus misericordia sua curet, ut etiam praesumere illis de bono suo feliciter liceat. Quid

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reading of A, but translates: "if, on the other hand, we are full of self-confidence, we shall perish *(sic)*, because we are neither afraid nor careful" (Dutch text: "als wij daarentegen tevoren vol zelfvertrouwen zijn, zullen wij verloren gaan, doordat wij noch vrezen noch voorzichtig zijn").

[15] Kok interprets *non et sollicitus* as a main clause, as is clear from his translation: "Whoever deems himself safe, is not at the same time anxious, and does not possess the firm and secure safety" (Dutch text: "Wie zich veilig waant, is niet tevens bezorgd, en bezit niet de vaste en zekere veiligheid"). This interpretation makes of *non et sollicitus* a superfluous addition (the same holds for the reading of the younger MSS.: *n. est s.*). That these words belong to the sub-clause is proved by the next sentence: *at qui sollicitus est, is vere poterit esse securus*. Cf. also Löfstedt, *Z. Spr. Tert.*, p. 66 n. 1.

autem alteri periculo sumus, quid alteri concupiscentiam importamus? Quasi deus non ampliando legem facto stupri concupiscentiam non discernat in poena. Nescio an impune habeat qui alicui causa fuerit perditionis. Perit enim ille, simul ut tuam formam concupierit, et facta es tu gladius illi, ut, etsi a culpa vaces, ab invidia non libereris. Ut, cum in alicuius agro latrocinium gestum est, crimen quidem dominum non continget, dum rus tamen ignominia notatur, ipse quoque infamia aspergitur.

The editors put the beginning of this paragraph (according to them the fourth, but cf. *supra*) at *Quid autem* (l. 24). However, a new argument has already been started at the sentence introduced by *Et de suis . . .* (l. 23); so this sentence should mark the opening of the paragraph.

Tertullian often uses the method of first attacking someone, and then assuming that the debated opinion is permissible or defensible, or taking up the view of his opponent, in order to show that he can carry his point in that case as well. The present passage is another example of these tactics.[16] In paragraph 2 he argued that the desire to please by outward beauty *(studium placendi per decorem)* bears witness to one's *praesumptio*, which endangers one's own salvation, and therefore implies a lack of care with regard to *oneself*. Here he sets out by assuming that the *praesumptio* is harmless or even permissible to those indulging in it on account of God's mercy. However, also in that case coquetry is to be censured, as it is a danger to one's *neighbour (quid autem alteri periculo sumus?)* by provoking concupiscence, which in Matt. 5, 28 is identified with *stupri factum* and, therefore, is punished by perdition just as actual fornication. Thus by her coquetry a Christian woman occasions the perdition of a *neighbour*. Yet in

[16] Another example of this polemical method is found in the following chapter. After having devoted the present chapter to the combating of *decor* on account of its danger both to her that possesses it (a) and to her neighbour (b), Tert. begins the next chapter as follows: *Nunc non sit timenda dignitas formae, ut nec possidentibus gravis* (a) *nec appetentibus exitiosa* (b) *nec coniunctis periculosa* (b), *non exposita temptationibus, non circumdata scandalis* (a) *existimetur: sufficit, quod angelis* (*ancillis* De la Cerda, Marra, Kroymann) *dei non est necessaria.* More instances are given by J. Lortz, *Tertullian als Apologet* (Münster i.W. 1927/8), 2, p. 163/4.

the end she cannot escape the consequences, since as a *causa perditionis* she will not go unpunished herself *(nescio an impune habeat qui alicui causa fuerit perditionis)*. This allows Tertullian to return to his starting-point: coquetry endangers one's own salvation.

In this passage the differences between A and the other MSS. are considerable. In the first sentence Kroymann and Marra follow the younger MSS. in reading *dominus pro misericordia sua* instead of *deus misericordia* (Oehler and Kok have *dominus misericordia sua)*. However, *deus* deserves preference. To begin with, what is said in this sentence is due to God, just as the infliction of perdition mentioned further on in this section. Moreover, the passages in which the relation of man to God or to Christ is represented as one of *servus* to *dominus* always contain a clearly given or even more fully elaborated point, which is either the contrast to the complete freedom of the believer towards the world and the secular powers or the absolute obedience as shown in human society by a slave towards his master; we never find *servus domini* by itself as a description of the Christian.[16a] Such a point is not present here. On the other hand *servus dei*, without emphasis or further qualification, is a very common designation of the Christian. The addition of *pro* is a superfluous facilitation, since *misericordia* as a causal ablative, though not frequent, is found more than once already in the classical period.[17]

The third sentence presents a more complicated problem. Kroymann and Marra read with the younger MSS.: *quam si dominus ampliando legem a facto stupri non discernit in poena, nescio an . . .* (Oehler follows A, apart from reading *quam si* instead of *quasi*). It cannot be doubted that the text as offered by A is correct. *Quasi non* introducing a refutation, especially after a question, is so typically Tertullian that only very powerful arguments can

[16a] Cf. e.g. *Apol.* 34, 1; *Pat.* 4; *Idol.* 18 (52, 10 sqq. Reiff.–Wiss.); *Cor.* 13, 5/6; *Virg. vel.* 3, 2; *Paen.* 4, 4. We do find, however, *servus Christi* without further qualification, cf. *Pat.* 8, 1, and see St. W. J. Teeuwen, *Sprachlicher Bedeutungswandel bei Tertullian* (Paderborn 1926), p. 126.

[17] Cf. e.g. Caes. *B.c.* 2, 13, 2: *Indutiarum quodam genere misericordia facto*; Liv. 7, 19, 6: *Caeritem populum misericordia consanguinitatis Tarquiniensibus adiunctum fama ferebatur*; Apul. *Met.* 1, 15, 6: *Recordabar profecto bonam Meroen non misericordia iugulo meo pepercisse.* See Thes. l. Lat. VIII: 1128, 7 sqq.

warrant its rejection. Such arguments cannot be produced.[18] In my opinion all changes go back to one single mistake, viz., the replacing of *deus non* (dš n̄) by *dominus* (dn̄s). This may have been a simple copyist's error, but an erroneous interpretation is a more likely cause. In the first place *non* has been joined on to *ampliando*; actually it belongs to *quasi* ('as if it were not so that . . .'). Moreover, it has probably been considered that Matt. 5, 28, which is alluded to here, is a pronouncement of Christ and not of God. However, this biblical passage only equates concupiscence with actual fornication, without mentioning punishment. Yet it is exactly the punishment that we are concerned with here, and the infliction of this punishment is due to God, not to Christ. By the alteration of *deus non* into *dominus* it became impossible to connect *quasi . . . concupiscentiam non discernat* as a refutation with the preceding sentence. This gave rise to *quam si . . . non discernit in poena*,[19] which was linked to the following sentence.[20] Logically, however, this connection is faulty: if no distinction as to punishment is made between concupiscence and actual fornication, this need not imply that the *causa perditionis* is punished as well. The sentence introduced by *quasi non* serves to show up a thoughtless coquetry as sharply as possible by pointing out that it has the most serious consequence a Christian can think of. The sentence introduced by *nescio an* forms a next step in the chain of reasoning, which is then motivated by *perit enim ille eqs.* The adding of *a* to *facto* seems superfluous, as the simple separative ablative, although rare with *discernere*, is not unparallelled, and as Tertullian often uses a separative ablative without a preposition with this kind of verbs.[21]

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[18] This was rightly pointed out by H. Hoppe, *Beiträge zur Sprache und Kritik Tertullians* (Lund 1932), p. 126. Instances of this use of *quasi non* are given by Hoppe, *l.c.*; Thörnell, *o.c.*, 4, p. 136; J. P. Waltzing, *Etude sur le Codex Fuldensis de l'Apologétique de Tertullien* (Liège–Paris 1914/1917), p. 382.

[19] Hoppe *(l.c.)* apparently believes that *quam si* was written here by a copyist as a medieval Latin equivalent of *quasi*. However, this does not explain the change of *deus non* into *dominus*.

[20] This is also done by Oehler, whose constitution of the text of this passage I fail to understand, and by Kok, although he follows the reading of A; he erroneously translates *quasi* by 'just as' (Dutch: 'evenals').

[21] See Thes. l. Lat. V, 1: 1297, 70 sqq.; 1298, 69 sqq.; 1301, 64 sqq.;

In l. 29 all editors read *simul in tuam formam concupierit* instead of *simul ut tuam formam concupierit* (A). It is not clear why they should prefer this contaminated reading [22] to the one given by A. *Simul ut* is by no means offensive, as it is found both in the classical period and in later Latin,[23] whereas *concupiscere in aliquid* is extremely rare and does not occur in Tertullian elsewhere.[24]

After *concupierit* all younger MSS. have *et admisit iam in animo quod concupivit, et facta es tu gladius* . . . In spite of the fact that omission by 'homoioteleuton' is a common mistake of A (cf. p. 20 above) and that all editors adopt it, I am convinced that this is an interpolation derived from Matt. 5, 28. If these words are regarded as part of the sub-clause, both the change of tense and that of object are puzzling (*tuam formam concupierit – quod concupivit*; because of *admisit* the word *quod* can only denote

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1302, 71 sqq. Löfstedt, too, believes *facto* to be correct (*Z. Spr. Tert.*, p. 16/9); he compares among other passages *Ad nat.* 2, 4, 5: *Disceditur vocabuli interpretatione pariter et divinitatis opinione*; *Adv. Marc.* 1, 5, 3: *Quid interfuit numeri, cum duo paria non differant uno? . . . si neutrum ex duobus altero distat, ut ambo summa magna.*

[22] The *adnotationes criticae* of the editors are at variance with each other. The younger manuscripts have *simul in tua forma concupierit* according to Kroymann, *simul in tua forma si concupierit* according to Oehler and Kok, *simul tua forma, si concupierit* according to Marra. At any rate the reading chosen by them is a contamination.

[23] Cf. e.g. Cic. *De orat.* 2, 5, 21; *Acad.* 2, 16, 51; *Tusc.* 4, 2, 5; *Ad fam.* 6, 18, 1; *Ciris* 514; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 6, 18, 1: *Octavianus . . . simul ut Romam adulescens admodum venit, indolem suam bellis civilibus vovit.* See R. Kühner–C. Stegmann–A. Thierfelder, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Satzlehre* (Leverkusen [3]1955), 2, p. 364/5; Hofmann, *Syntax*, 752. 759; W. A. Baehrens, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Syntax* (Philologus, Suppl. 12, Leipsic 1912), p. 416.

[24] See Thes. l. Lat. IV: 106, 29/35. From the Thes. Kok furnishes as a parallel *Adv. Marc.* 1, 25, 5: *Igitur cum et voluit et concupiit* (*sc.* Marcion's *deus bonus*) *in hominis salutem* . . . Here, however, *in* with the accusative is not used instead of an object, but as a final adjunct, as is evident from the context: 4. *Ecce enim hoc ipso, quod retro quietus, qui nec notitiam sui aliquo interim opere curaverit, post tantum aevi senserit in hominis salutem, utique per voluntatem, nonne concussibilis tunc fuit novae voluntati, ut et ceteris motibus videatur obnoxius? Quae enim voluntas sine concupiscentiae stimulo est? Quis volet quod non concupiscet? Sed et cura accedet voluntati. Quis enim volet quid et concupiscet, et non curabit?* 5. *Igitur cum et voluit et concupiit in hominis salutem, iam et sibi et aliis negotium fecit, Epicuro nolente, consiliario Marcionis.*

stuprum). The second objection holds equally, if these words are interpreted as a main clause or a parenthesis. But the most important objection is that the words do not fit in the context: the point is not, whether the concupiscent person should already have committed fornication in his mind, but that concupiscence is liable to the same punishment, viz. perdition, as actual fornication.

The remaining variants are of less significance. Certainly correct in A are l. 23 *ut* (omitted by the other MSS.); l. 24 *illis* (*illi* in the other MSS.); l. 30 *ut, etsi* (likewise N, V *m. sec.*, R^1; *ut quam si* F; *ut quodsi* V L; *ut* R^3); l. 30 *libereris* (*liberaberis* in the other MSS.); l. 32 *continget* (*constringit* in the other MSS.[25]); l. 32 *rus tamen* (*res tamen eius* in the other MSS.). In l. 28 A's reading *alicui causa fuerit perditionis* is preferable to *alicui fuerit causa perditionis* (all other MSS.), though in this case a certain choice is impossible.[26] Incorrect in A, on the other hand, are l. 29 *est* (a case of dittography), and l. 33 *in familia* instead of *infamia* (probably caused by association with *dominum . . . rus*).

4. Expingamus nos, ut alteri pereant? Ubi ergo est: Diliges proximum tuum sicuti te ipsum (Matt. 19, 19; 22, 39; Luke 10, 27), nolite vestra tantum curare, sed alterius (cf. 1 Cor. 10, 24)? Nulla enuntiatio spiritus sancti ad praesentem tantum materiam et non ad omnem utilitatis occasionem dirigi et suscipi debet.

In this paragraph Tertullian winds up his case by reinforcing the preceding argument, which is general in character, by the

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[25] In this connection the verb *constringere* is impossible. For *contingere* with the meaning of *pertinere ad* see Thes. l. Lat. IV: 717, 26 sqq., and cf. especially Gaius *Inst.* 2, 154: *ut ignominia . . . hunc potius heredem quam ipsum testatorem contingat*; Ulp. *Dig.* 21, 2, 51 *pr.*: *iniuria . . . , quae fit emptoris, auctorem non debet contingere*; 48, 19, 5 *pr.*: *pecuniarias . . . poenas vel eas, quae existimationem contingunt.* The future tense *continget* has the function of a potential, as is often the case in Tert., cf. Hoppe, *Syntax*, p. 64/5, and *Beiträge*, p. 37/8 (unfortunately he does not distinguish this use from the gnomic future); Thörnell, *o.c.*, 3, p. 43/4.

[26] In the same sentence M. Mesnart (in his edition, Paris 1545) and S. Gelenius (in his edition, Basle 1550) read *impune abeat.* Kroymann's comment on this in his critical apparatus is: "fortasse recte." However, the *lectio tradita* is certainly correct, cf. e.g. Ter. *Eun.* 852: *Credin te impune habiturum?* Apul. *Plat.* 2, 17: *Si, qui nocet, habeat impune, gravius . . . est . . . supplicio*; Lact. *Epit.* 50, 3: *Cur impune habeant Aegyptii, qui . . .*; see Thes. l. Lat. VII, 1: 721, 65/9.

introduction of some biblical passages which are not directly relevant to the subject in question but must be still regarded as bearing on it by their implication.

In l. 39 the younger MSS. read *potest* instead of *debet*. Only the latter reading can be correct, as *potest* would precisely take away the coercive force Tertullian wants to lend to the passages quoted. Moreover, it is in accordance with the rule formulated in *Spect.* 3, 4: *late . . . semper scriptura divina dividitur, ubicumque secundum praesentis rei sensum etiam disciplina munitur.*

In l. 36 *tantum* is only found in A. Kroymann wrongly presumes that this word was inserted under the influence of the following *tantum* (l. 38). Tertullian is alluding to 1 Cor. 10, 24: *μηδεὶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ζητείτω, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου.* Whereas *sua tantum curare* does answer to the Greek *τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ζητεῖν*, *sua curare* does not.

For the rest the younger manuscripts have only two slight deviations from A: *est ergo* (l. 34) and *sicut* (l. 35).[27]

5. Cum igitur et nostra et aliorum causa versetur in studio
41 periculosissimi decoris, iam non tantum confictae et elaboratae pulchritudinis suggestum recusandum a vobis sciatis, sed

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[27] According to Kroymann *tuum* (l. 35) is lacking in A, but this remains uncertain, since the other editors do not mention this omission. At any rate *tuum* must be preserved. Among the old Latin versions of the Bible only g_1 omits *tuum* in Matt. 19, 19, in Matt. 22, 39 e reads *prox. tibi*, b, g_1, and q read *prox. tuum* (cf. G. J. D. Aalders, *Tertullianus' citaten uit de Evangeliën en de oud-Latijnse Bijbelvertalingen*, Amsterdam 1932, p. 73. 76. 107); in Luke 10, 27 a, b, and r_1 have *prox. tuum*, e has *prox. tibi* (cf. G. J. D. Aalders, *Tertullian's Quotatations from St. Luke*, Mnemosyne III, 5 (1937), 241/282, p. 246. 254). So the omission of a pronoun does not receive any support from the tradition. In this respect the allusions in *Res.* 9, 3 *(qui dilectionem mandat post suam in proximum, facit et ipse quod praecipit)* and *Iei.* 2, 8 *(opus est . . . diligam deum et proximum tamquam me)* are of course irrelevant. The only other quotation by Tert. is found in *Adv. Marc.* 5, 8, 10, which reads: *diliges . . . proximum tibi tamquam te* (Pamelius read *prox. tuum*, which is certainly a conjecture derived from the Vulgate, cf. also Aalders, *Luke*, p. 267). So Tert. used *prox. tuum* and *prox. tibi* promiscuously in order to translate Greek *τὸν πλησίον σου* (cf. Aalders, *Citaten*, p. 97; the question is not dealt with by H. Rönsch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, Leipsic 1871, p. 122. 129). – Kroymann's comment on *et non* (l. 38) is: "fortasse *non et*." However, the *lectio tradita* is correct, cf. e.g. *Idol.* 6 (36, 1 Reiff.–Wiss.): *facio* (*sc.* idola) *et non colo* (*sed* Reiff.); see Hofmann, *Syntax*, p. 659; Thes. l. Lat. V, 2: 905, 65 sqq.

etiam naturalis speciositatis oblitterandum dissimulatione et incuria, ut perinde oculorum incursibus molestum. Nam etsi accusandus decor non est, ut felicitas corporis, ut divinae plasticae accessio, ut animae aliqua vestis bona, timendus est tamen vel propter iniuriam et violentiam sectatorum. Quam etiam pater fidei Abraham in uxoris suae specie pertimuit et Isaac sororem ementitus Rebeccam salutem contumelia redemit.

All editors do not begin a new paragraph until the words *nam etsi accusandus eqs.* (l. 44), apparently because they considered the words *cum igitur et nostra et aliorum causa versetur in studio periculosissimi decoris* to be closely connected to the biblical passages just quoted. However, these words sum up the whole of the preceding chain of reasoning, in which Tertullian argued that the *studium placendi per decorem* contains a great danger both to one's own salvation (parr. 1/2) and to that of one's neighbour (parr. 3/4). But whereas in the preceding argument *decor* was meant to denote clothes and make-up,[28] Tertullian here makes a further step: not only artificial embellishment is unlawful but even natural beauty must be oblitterated *(non tantum confictae et elaboratae pulchritudinis suggestum recusandum a vobis sciatis, sed etiam naturalis speciositatis oblitterandum dissimulatione et incuria)*.

The greater part of the variants needs no comment. Certainly correct are in A: l. 42 *pulchritudinis* (*cupidinis* all other MSS.); l. 45 *ut divinae* (*et divinae* V L); l. 46 *vestis* (*vestitus* F R^1), *timendus est tamen* (*timendum tamen est* all other MSS.); l. 47 *sectatorum* (*septatorum* V L, *spectatorum* R). Uncertain is l. 44 *perinde*, where the younger manuscripts read *proinde*, as Tertullian uses these

[28] This is evident in the first place from 2, 1, 2, where Tert. says that he addresses Christian women, because they *aut ignorantes simpliciter aut dissimulantes audaciter ita ingrediuntur, quasi pudicitia in sola carnis integritate et stupri aversatione consistat, nec quicquam et extrinsecus opus sit, de cultus dico et ornatus dispositione* (what Tert. understands by *cultus et ornatus* is clear from 1, 4, 2: *Habitus feminae duplicem speciem circumfert, cultum et ornatum. Cultum dicimus, quem mundum muliebrem vocant, ornatum, quem immundum muliebrem convenit dici. Ille in auro et argento et gemmis et vestibus deputatur, iste in cura capilli et cutis et earum partium corporis, quae oculos trahunt)*. It is also proved by the first word of par. 4 of this chapter: *expingamus*.

words indiscriminately.[29] In l. 47 A is probably wrong in omitting *vel*, and in l. 48 it reads *quem* which cannot be correct (*quam* N, *quae* R, *que* F according to Kroymann).

In l. 43 Kroymann and Marra assume a lacuna after *speciositatis*, which the latter fills up with the word *decorem*. However, this is by no means necessary, as Tertullian frequently omits the substantive to which a genitive belongs, when this substantive has just been mentioned,[30] and as, moreover, *suggestus* is not only used of an artificial embellishment, but also of a natural ornament.[31]

Instead of *et Isaac sororem ementitus Rebeccam* (A, Oehler, Kok) the younger manuscripts have *et sororem mentitus Saram*. Marra and Kroymann read *et sororem ementitus*, which is accounted for by Kroymann as follows: "quia ad *sororem* ex antecedentibus perfacile *uxorem* mente suppletur, et in Agobardino et in recentioribus nomina interpolata esse puto. De Isaac Rebeccam uxorem sororem mentiente in sacra scriptura nusquam fit mentio." Kroymann's second argument is incorrect: in Gen. 26, 7 sqq. it is told at length that Isaac passed off his wife Rebecca for his sister. That Abraham did the same with Sarah is told in Gen. 12, 11 sqq. and 20, 2 sqq. Moreover, the fact that *sororem* can be supplemented with *uxorem* from the foregoing does not prove that the names have been interpolated. There is no decisive reason to reject the reading of A. The reading of the younger manuscripts may have been caused by the dropping out of the name *Isaac*, after which *Rebeccam* was perforce changed into *Saram*. However, it is also possible that we have to do with a deliberate alteration. The fact is that in none of the passages of Genesis mentioned above it is stated explicitly that the lives of Abraham or Isaac were

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[29] See J. P. Waltzing, *Tertullien, Apologétique. Commentaire analytique, grammatical et historique* (Paris 1931), p. 58; G. Thörnell, Eranos 16 (1916), p. 123/4. Tert. even shows a certain preference for *proinde*.

[30] This and other passages are given as instances by Thörnell, *o.c.*, 1, p. 3 n. 1.

[31] Cf. e.g. *An.* 12, 1: *Animum . . . non aliud quid intellegimus quam suggestum animae ingenitum et insitum et nativitus proprium*; *Res.* 12, 1/2. Besides, natural beauty, too, is a *divinae plasticae accessio*, an *animae aliqua vestis bona* (l. 45/6). For the meanings of *suggestus* see A. Engelbrecht, *Neue lexikalische und semasiologische Beiträge aus Tertullian*, Wiener Studien 28 (1906), p. 150/8; J. H. Waszink in his edition of the *De Anima* (Amsterdam 1947), p. 83.

endangered and that they saved their lives by passing off their wives for their sisters; mention is only made of their own fear of being killed. However, it is told of Abraham, and of him only, that the servants of Pharaoh took away Sarah, *καὶ τῷ Ἀβραμ εὖ ἐχρήσαντο δι' αὐτήν* (12, 16). Possibly the words *salutem contumelia redemit* were thought to be an allusion to this very passage, and as, moreover, such a thing was not said of Isaac in Genesis, his name, and hence Rebecca's, may have been deleted. What Tertullian really meant by these words cannot be decided with certainty: either he is only alluding to Isaac's fear of being killed or he made a little mistake by applying Gen. 12, 16 to Isaac.

If the constitution of the text presented above is correct, it clearly illustrates the difference in character and value between the younger manuscripts and the Agobardinus. Surely the latter manuscript is not without mistakes: there is a great number of omissions, haplographies and dittographies, as well as mistakes due to association and to mere incompetence on the part of the copyist. In this respect the chapter discussed here even presents a rather flattered image of the manuscript. It is essential, however, that the copyist of the Agobardinus has nowhere deliberately interfered with the text and that this manuscript contains no interpolations. Wherever there are important differences in the tradition, the reading of the Agobardinus is generally the correct one. It may have its use to see this conclusion, which was already

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[32] The former was done by E. Castorina who in his edition of the *De spectaculis* (Florence 1961) almost everywhere prefers the reading of Mesnart's edition to that of the Agobardinus. Mesnart's edition is a reprint of the third edition by Rhenanus (cf. *supra*, note 2), but with the addition of Novatianus' *De trinitate* and *De cibis Iudaicis*, a part of the *De patientia* not found in Rhenanus, and nine other works of Tert., one of which *De spectaculis*. Mesnart asserted that these were *opuscula . . . ex vetustissimo codice desumpta*. Closely related, if not identical with this lost codex, was the equally elusive *Codex Masburensis* which Gelenius claims to have used for his edition. Castorina (p. xxxv) concludes that both MSS. go back to a *corpus Corbeiense*; "ben diverso, e di valore inferiore, benché onusto di gloria, il *corpus Agobardinum*". I intend to discuss this question in a forthcoming article. The importance of Mesnart's readings compared to those of the *Codex Trecensis* 523 was emphasized by B. Luiselli, the latest editor of the *De baptismo* (Turin 1960; for his constitution of the text see

long ago arrived at by Löfstedt and Thörnell, confirmed in a comparatively difficult passage of a certain length, now that the value of the Agobardinus has recently been strongly underrated in favour of the, now overvalued, fifteenth century manuscripts.[32]

The Hague, Sportlaan 1216

H. Tränkle's review, Gnomon 33 (1961), 798/805), in his treatise *Due contributi sull'editio Mesnartiana degli scritti Tertullianei* (Annali della Facoltà di Lettere . . . Univ. di Cagliari 28, 1960), which is inaccessible to me. On the other hand, V. Bulhart, the editor of some of Tert.'s works in C.S.E.L. LXXVI (cf. also his studies mentioned above, n. 8), is far too optimistic about the value of the *recentiores*, particularly N. His evaluation of the tradition is based, in my opinion, on a profound misunderstanding of Tertullian's style.

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LA "CONSUETUDO„ NEI "PROTRETTICI„

DI

L. ALFONSI

Il "Protrettico„ di Clemente Alessandrino si chiude, come è ben noto (c. XII ed. Cataudella, Torino 1940), con un appello a fuggire "la consuetudine„, dopo aver dedicato per gran parte l'appassionato c. X a combattere *ἐκ πατέρων... παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν ἔθος*. Si può giustamente rilevare [1] come questo motivo sia comune anche a "parecchi degli scrittori cristiani di questo tempo — Tertulliano, Minucio Felice„ e come Celso lo ripresenta e gli dà una base di argomentazioni filosofiche (Celso II, 1 = Glöck. p. 7 *τὸν πάτριον νόμον;* V, 51 = Glöck. p. 38 *πόθεν ἥκουσιν ἢ τίνα ἔχουσιν ἀρχηγέτην πατρίων νόμων*).[2] Ma appunto per queste ragioni tale spunto assume particolare importanza e merita di essere indagato nelle sue fonti, quanto invece pare per lo più considerato in sé e per sé.[3] Va bene che c'è l'espressione proverbiale *ἔθος δευτέρη φύσις* (cfr. Giuliano, *Misopogone* 353 a), ma qui si tratta di un fiero attacco contro questa deviazione imposta alla natura primigenia. Invece è caratteristico di tutta la tradizione protrettica, la cui prima documentazione a questo proposito noi possiamo cogliere nell'*Hortensius* ciceroniano, anche se dallo stoicismo ha presi impulsi ad appro-

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[1] Si veda Clemente Alessandrino, *Protreptico ai Greci*, testo, introduzione, traduzione e commento a cura di Q. Cataudella, Torino 1940, pp. XVII–XVIII.

[2] Si veda anche Q. Cataudella, *Celso e l'Epicureismo*, in "Annali R. Scuola Normale di Pisa„ 1943, pp. 1–23; in generale P. de Labriolle, *La réaction païenne*, Paris 1934, p. 117 e ss.; anche C. Andresen, *Logos und Nomos*, Berlin 1955, p. 211 specialmente, e già p. 192 e ss.

[3] Si veda appunto Cataudella, *Protreptico*, p. XVII; G. Lazzati, *Introduzione allo studio di Clemente Alessandrino*, Milano 1939, specialmente in generale pp. 37–71; Id., *L'Aristotele perduto e gli scrittori cristiani*, Milano 1938, pp. 15–34 per il problema nel suo complesso; L. Alfonsi, *Motivi tradizionali del giovane Aristotele in Clemente Alessandrino e in Atenagora*, in "Vigiliae Christianae„ 1953, pp. 129–138 specialmente per i problemi che poi ci interesseranno; nulla di ciò in O. Stählin in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Ier Band, herausg. von O. S., Leipzig 1905, p. 83 e già prima p. 63 e ss.

fonditi sviluppi, la considerazione della *consuetudo vitiosa*, come nemica della *vera ratio*.

Si vedano appunto i fr. 64, 65 e 66 dell'*Hortensius* (ed. Grilli, Milano 1962, p. 37), in cui la *consuetudo* è una delle "vie,, per cui la *natura* o la *veritas* (secondo la mia interpretazione) o la *ratio* (secondo il Grilli, ma ai nostri fini non conta la differenza) si perverte:

fr. 64 *habet enim ipsa certam et definitam viam, ⟨s⟩et ex ea multis vitiis et erroribus depravata deducitur.*

fr. 65 *deinde imitator, ut sibi quidem videtur, naturae mos vindicat.*

fr. 66 *ut ea sibi ratio vera restituat quae consuetudo vitiosa detraxerat* (si cfr. anche *Paradoxa Stoic.* § 8: *plus apud me tamen vera ratio valebit quam vulgi opinio* in antitesi, da comparare con *Tusc.* II, 26, 63–64, per l'espressione).

E seguiamo ancora questa tradizione particolarmente in Seneca *de ira* II, 19–22 [4] e particolarmente 20, 2 ss. in cui ritorna proprio sia l'espressione *consuetudo* sia il termine *vitium: sed omnia ista initia causaeque sunt; plurimum potest consuetudo, quae, si gravis est, alit vitium. Naturam quidem mutare difficile est, nec licet semel mixta nascentium elementa convertere . . .*

Ed anzi il confronto con Galeno (S V F III, 229 a, p. 55): *διττὴν γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διαστροφῆς τὴν αἰτίαν, ἑτέραν μὲν ἐκ κατηχήσεως τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγγιγνομένην . . .*), per il legame appunto con il tema precettistico e pedagogico espresso fin dall' inizio da Galeno *τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν παίδων διοικήσεως,* (p. 54 Arnim) proverebbe la dipendenza da Poseidonio di tutto lo sviluppo.[5]

Anzi un testo di Calcidio, Comment. *in Plat. Tim.* c. 165 (p. 196, 22 ss. ed. Waszink–Jensen, = S V F III, 229), pur esso – probabilmente per la mediazione di Porfirio – di derivazione poseidoniana [6] (sulla *duplicem perversionem*, di cui una *nascitur ex rebus*

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[4] Si veda M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, II, Göttingen 1949, p. 155 (ma il punto di vista complessivo è in vol. I, Göttingen 1948, pp. 309–310); K. Reinhardt, *Poseidonios*, München 1921, p. 321 e ss.; Id., s.v. *Poseidonios*, in "P. W. Real-Enc. der cl. Alt.,,, XXII, 1, coll. 741–42 e 757 sempre sulla "Erziehungslehre,,.

[5] Si veda M. Tulli Ciceronis, *Hortensius*, edidit commentario instruxit A. Grilli, Milano 1962, p. 103 e ss.

[6] Grilli, *op. cit.*, p. 97 n. 6.

ipsis, l'altra *ex divulgatione famae*) illustra il modo, con cui attraverso la *eruditio a vulgo separata* si può evadere da tutte le contrarietà della vita che sviano *ab honestis studiis, a cognitione veri*. Altrettanto all'*Hortensius* di Cicerone risale la formulazione (fr. 88 e 89 Grilli) *abhorrere a multitudine philosophiam, philosophiam non esse vulgarem* (da Lattanzio *Inst. Div.* III, 25, 1 ss.). Quindi il tema della *consuetudo vitiosa* era sviluppato nei "Protrettici,, – derivi o meno da impostazioni stoiche, – anche in contrapposizione a quello della filosofia come indipendente dall'influenza del volgo, e in relazione alla esigenza di reagire con l'*educatio*, la *παιδεία* e la *θεραπεία*, al costume pravo e vizioso. E Clemente come si comporta? Per lui la consuetudine *ἄγχει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποτρέπει, ἀπάγει τῆς ζωῆς* (si noti il chiasmo!), *παγίς ἐστιν, βάραθρόν ἐστιν, βόθρος ἐστί* (e qui si noti la simmetria!); è quindi un mezzo di allontanarsi, *ἀποτρέπει* appunto (il contrario di *προτρέπει*!), dalla verità, *ἀλήθεια*, strumento di depravazione, di *διαστροφή*, che impedisce di approdare *τοῖς λιμέσι . . . τῶν οὐρανῶν* (c. XII, p. 245 Cataudella), a contemplare Dio ed essere iniziato ai sacri misteri "veramente santi,,[7], per raccogliere il frutto dell'immortalità e la *χάρις* dell' *ἀφθαρσία* (p. 249 Cataudella). Ma non solo in questo capitolo finale, di cui abbiamo già altra volta messa in evidenza qualche immagine protrettica (il *κῦμα* della vita, i porti, le Sirene)[8], ma anche nel C. X, come si è detto, torna costante il motivo del *παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν ἔθος ἐκ πατέρων* che per i pagani *ἀνατρέπειν οὐκ εὔλογον* (p. 187 Cataudella). E si contrappone consuetudine e verità: . . . *οὐχὶ τὸ ἔθος καταλιπόντες τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἐμπαθὲς καὶ ἄθεον, κἂν οἱ πατέρες χαλεπαίνωσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκκλινοῦμεν . . .*; e la *συνήθεια* è *δηλητήριον φάρμακον . . ., ἀπὸ . . . τοῦ τρισαθλίου τούτου ἔθους*, e si continua addirittura in un'antitesi violenta e retoricamente segnata tra *βιῶναι καλῶς κατὰ τὸν θεόν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος* (p. 189 Cat.). Anzi si richiama il dovere di fuggire *ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα δεσμωτηρίων* (p. 191 Cat.): da confrontare con fr. 112 e 113 Grilli dell'*Hortensius* sui *nostros animos cum corporibus copulatos*.

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[7] Per questo momento del "Protreptico,, clementino si veda Cataudella, *op. cit.*, pp. XXXIV–XXXV; L. Alfonsi, *L'elemento artistico nel "Protreptico,, di Clemente Alessandrino*, in "Scuola Cattolica,, 1945 (Settembre-Dicembre), pp. 1–8 estr.

[8] L. Alfonsi, *Echi epicurei e accademici nella letteratura antica*, in "Atene e Roma,, 1944, pp. 126–9 specialmente utile ai nostri fini.

L'abbandono della consuetudine è platonicamente per Clemente *καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος* per *αὐτομολεῖν πρὸς θεόν* ed è un passare *ἐξ ἀμαθίας εἰς ἐπιστήμην, ἐξ ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν* (p. 195 Cat.). "La consuetudine *ἐπιτέτριπται δὲ ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης*,, (p. 205 Cat.): e quindi si invita a purificarsi *ἀπὸ τῆς συνηθείας ταῖς ἀληθιναῖς σταγόσιν* (p. 207 Cat.) per salire *καθαροὺς εἰς οὐρανούς*, invece di essere *συνηθείᾳ κακῇ δεδουλωμένοι* (p. 209).

Quindi è essenziale *τῇ συνηθείᾳ αὐτῇ ἀποτάξασθαι* (p. 211), giacchè *διὰ τῆς συνηθείας* i *δαίμονες* oltraggiano e violano la vita (p. 213), rendendo ciechi e sordi gli uomini (p. 217). Anzi, mentre per disfarsi della *consuetudo vitiosa*, come abbiamo visto, può servire l'*educatio liberalis* (fr. 92 Grilli), al fine della filosofia non volgare, nel cristiano Clemente *ἐμποδὼν . . . ἵσταται οὐδὲν τῷ σπεύδοντι πρὸς γνῶσιν θεοῦ, οὐκ ἀπαιδευσία . . .* (p. 217 Cat.). E più avanti, dopo aver invitato gli *Ἕλληνες* a divenire evangelicamente *φρόνιμοι καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς* (cfr. Matteo X, 16), *ἵνα δὴ τοὺς χηραμοὺς καταλιπόντες* abitino *τοὺς οὐρανούς* (p. 219) — motivi tutti protrettici —, si ritorna all'immagine della *σοφία* come *καλὸν ἀφετήριον* e *ὅρμον . . . ἀκύμονα σωτηρίας* (p. 221), da confrontare con Agostino *b.v.* I, 1 *ad philosophiae portum* . . . (già da noi studiato). E si conclude appunto contrapponendo ancora la *συνήθεια*, che *ἥδει μὲν καὶ γαργαλίζει ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ὠθεῖ*, alla verità, all' *ἀλήθεια, ἡ δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνάγει* (p. 225): onde l'uomo deve oltrepassare *τὸν λῆρον τῆς συνηθείας* "come fanno i fanciulli che divenuti grandi gettano via i giocattoli,, (p. 225 Cat.). Quindi il motivo della lotta alla *συνήθεια*, che si ritrova in un capitolo come il X, contesto di spunti protrettici (si veda anche pp. 207–9 Cat. per il concetto della *οἰκεία ἀρετή* aristotelico, cfr. Cataudella, *op. cit.*, p. 208 n. 1, e Lazzati, *L'Aristotele perduto*, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–3), può tanto a maggior diritto venire qualificato anche in Clemente di origine protrettica: proprio aristotelica non oseremmo dire, ma certo filtrato attraverso lo stoicismo di Poseidonio. Solo che invece di *διαστροφὴ τοῦ λόγου* (S V F III, 382) pagana qui essa è veramente *διαστροφὴ τοῦ Λόγου* nella pienezza del suo valore. Ma d'altro canto è utile rilevare, anche per questa sezione del "Protrettico,,[9] (ed alla *ἕξις* segue appunto

[9] Per altri motivi della tradizione protrettica in Clemente Alessandrino si veda E. Bignone, *Studi sul pensiero antico*, Napoli 1938, p. 279 con riferimento anche a *L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro*, Firenze 1936, vol. II, p. 364 n. 3 di p. 363; S. Mariotti, *Nuove testimonianze*

come rimedio la *διδαχή* nella tradizione), la presenza del substrato filosofico classico nella tematica sulla *consuetudo:* anzi della tematica protrettica, nel suo aspetto di invito al rinnovamento dell'animo. Così tradizione classica e attualità di polemica (si ricordi Celso!) e di situazioni, derivate da uno stesso ceppo, si congiungono anche per questo aspetto nel "Protrettico,, clementino, opera di cultura in un impegno di vita.

Varese, 18, via Bernascone

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ed echi dell'Aristotele giovanile, in "Atene e Roma,, 1940, pp. 58–60 specialmente. Si consulti anche P. Hartlich, *De exhortationum a Graecis Romanisque scriptarum historia et indole*, in "Leipziger Studien,, 1889, *passim*, ma senza precisazioni in merito.

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ARNOBIO E L'ERESIA MARCIONITA DI PATRIZIO

DI

FRANCESCO G. SIRNA

Il presente studio prende le mosse dall'articolo di Felix Scheidweiler[1] che per primo[2] ha confrontato le singolari dottrine esposte da Arnobio nell' *Adversus Nationes* col sistema di Marcione. L'accostamento con l'eretico del Ponto ci sembra pienamente convincente e noi ci proponiamo solo di sistemare e inquadrare con maggiore approssimazione Arnobio nella storia dell'eresia marcionita. Almeno un secolo e mezzo divide Arnobio da Marcione e nel corso di quegli anni dei mutamenti[3] si sono operati in seno al marcionismo. Leggendo l'opera di Adolf von Harnack,[4] tuttora fondamentale per la ricostruzione dell'eresia di Marcione, la nostra attenzione è stata attirata da alcune somiglianze dottrinali con l'eresia di Patrizio, che rappresenta uno degli estremi sviluppi del marcionismo in Occidente, prima che i resti di questa eresia contribuiscano ad ingrossare le file del manicheismo.[5] Le piú antiche testimonianze su Patrizio risalgono all'*Ambrosiaster* (ad I Tim. 4, 1–2) e a Filastrio. Quest'ultimo esamina[6] l'eresia di Patrizio nel gruppo di eresie dalla persecuzione di Decio a Costantino e perciò può ricavarsi come data approssimativa di questo movimento la seconda metà del terzo secolo. Piú tardi di Patrizio parla sant'Agostino nel *de haeresibus* (c. 61) ripetendo quanto dice dalla notizia di Filastrio; egli rimane però la fonte principale per la conoscenza dell'eresia patriciana. Intorno al 420 sant'Agostino compose l'opera intitolata

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[1] F. Scheidweiler, Arnobius und der Marcionitismus, ZNTW, 1955, pp. 42–67.

[2] Per accostamenti anteriori v. Scheidweiler, pp. 43–44. Da aggiungere A. J. Festugière, Arnobiana, Vig. Chr., 1952, p. 236.

[3] Di questi mutamenti tiene conto lo Scheidweiler, cfr. pp. 48, 52, 55 e s.

[4] Citiamo la seconda edizione: A. von Harnack, Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott, Leipzig, 1924.

[5] Harnack, p. 156. Su Patrizio v. pp. 174, 313*, 389* n. 1, 390* n. 4, 395*, 399* e s., ma soprattutto 424*–433* (Beilage X).

[6] Filastrio, Haer. 62.

Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum,[7] intesa a confutare un libro anonimo che era letto con particolare interesse a Cartagine. L'anonimo dice di rifarsi all'insegnamento di un certo *Fabricius* [8] e a sant'Agostino è sfuggito il fatto che di altri non poteva trattarsi se non di Patrizio, di cui fa per altro menzione nel tentativo di chiarire la provenienza delle dottrine del suo avversario (Aug. II, 40). Su questa identità non è possibile avanzare dubbi e il *Contra Adversarium* di sant'Agostino rimane per noi quasi l'unica fonte [9] che ci faccia conoscere se non completamente almeno in notevole parte l'insegnamento di Patrizio. Perché ben poco aggiungono alle nostre conoscenze le notizie degli eresiologi, che in genere ripetono Filastrio, se si eccettui forse qualche dato dell'autore del *Praedestinatus*. Con il trattato di sant'Agostino noi confronteremo l'*Adversus Nationes* di Arnobio ed è necessario premettere che i contatti riguarderanno soprattutto e quasi esclusivamente questioni di contenuto in relazione a due ordini di fatti. Occorre tener presente che non chiari, per mancanza di testimonianze al riguardo, risultano i rapporti tra Patrizio e Arnobio che non devono essere vissuti molto lontani tra di loro nel tempo [10] e forse nello spazio. In secondo luogo diversa è la natura delle opere che confrontiamo: lo scritto dell'avversario di sant'Agostino, quale possiamo ricostruirlo dal *Contra Adversarium*, e l'opera di Arnobio. Da un lato un'opera che doveva essere affine alle Antitesi di Marcione,[11] con delle critiche al Dio dell'Antico Testamento e la continua opposizione dell'Antico e del Nuovo Testamento, dall'altro un'opera di carattere apologetico. Da questa diversa natura delle opere in esame scaturiscono le particolari difficoltà del confronto e, ci sembra, una certa sicurezza sulla validità dei rapporti istituiti quando le somiglianze risultino evidenti.

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[7] P.L. XLII, coll. 606–666.

[8] Aug. II, 3. 41.

[9] A parte forse le Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti.

[10] L'eresia di Patrizio è assegnata alla prima metà del 4° secolo dal Harnack, p. 399*. Un'osservazione di sant'Agostino (I, 49) circa l'ignoranza da parte dell'anonimo della controversia ariana può forse consigliare una data anteriore.

[11] Per i rapporti tra l'anonimo e le Antitesi di Marcione v. Harnack, pp. 174, 313* e 390* n. 4.

E' noto che il punto di partenza di Marcione [12] consiste nel rigetto dell'Antico Testamento e nell'opposizione del dio buono rivelato dal Cristo al dio giusto dell'Antico Testamento. Da ciò la necessità per Marcione di eliminare anche nella scelta di scritti neotestamentari da lui operata le interpolazioni giudaizzanti. Questa linea di condotta può essere facilmente seguita attraverso Patrizio fino ad Arnobio. Lo scritto dell'anonimo è rivolto contro il *Deus Legis et Prophetarum* e l'autore denunzia come interpolazioni *pessimi daemonis* alcuni passi dell'Apostolo.[13] Risulta però evidente che gli scritti che l'anonimo considera canonici non coincidono con la scelta di Marcione.[14] L'anonimo infatti cita dai Vangeli di Matteo e di Giovanni, conosce anche le lettere pastorali e afferma che unici esegeti dei passi difficili sono i *perfecti*, in quanto l'Apostolo aveva parlato *pro qualitatibus ingeniorum*.[15] Arnobio esprime il suo pensiero intorno all'Antico Testamento nel capitolo III, 12 [16]: *Neque quisquam Iudaeicas in hoc loco nobis opponat et Sadducaei generis fabulas,*[17] *tamquam formas tribuamus et nos deo: hoc enim putatur in eorum litteris dici et velut re certa atque auctoritate firmari: quae aut nihil ad nos attinent nec ex aliqua portione quicquam habent commune nobiscum, aut si sunt ut creditur sociae, quaerendi sunt vobis altioris intellegentiae doctores, per quos possitis addiscere, quibus modis conveniat litterarum illarum nubes atque involucra relaxare.*[18] Ancora piú chiaramente Arnobio si esprime in I, 42: a prova della

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[12] Marcione fondava l'esistenza di due dei su Luc. 6, 43 e Is. 45, 7, cfr. Harnack, p. 260* che cita Tert. Adv. Marc. I, 2. L'anonimo cita Isaia (Aug. I, 48) e Mt. 7, 15–20 (Aug. I, 47. 49).

[13] Aug. II, 6 con riferimento a Rom. I, 3; XI, 17.

[14] Per le variazioni nei testi accettati dai marcioniti v. Harnack, pp. 173–174.

[15] Aug. II, 3.

[16] L'edizione seguita è quella del Marchesi: Arnobii Adversus Nationes libri VII rec. C. Marchesi, Torino, Paravia, 1953 (seconda edizione).

[17] Per le *fabulae Iudaicae* v. Aug. II, 1 *profanas et aniles fabulas et genealogias infinitas appellasse apostolum existimat . . . eloquia Legis et Prophetarum quia dixit "Profanas et aniles fabulas devita,,* (I Tim. 4, 7) . . . *"Ne intendas fabulis Iudaicis et genealogiis infinitis, quae quaestiones praestant magis quam aedificationem,,* (I Tim. I, 4).

[18] Cfr. Scheidweiler, pp. 45–46. In questo capitolo Arnobio risponde alla accusa raccolta in III, 2 *si vobis divina res cordi est, cur alios nobiscum neque deos colitis neque adoratis nec cum vestris gentibus communia sacra miscetis et religionum coniungitis ritus?* Cfr. Festugière, p. 233.

divinità del Cristo stanno i miracoli *quae populi gentesque suo geri sub lumine nullo dissentiente viderunt, quae nec ipsi audent falsitatis arguere, quorum antiquas et patrias leges vanitatis esse plenissimas atque inanissimae superstitionis ostendit.* In Arnobio le allusioni sicure al Nuovo Testamento riguardano Paolo,[19] ma si trovano anche allusioni ai Vangeli di Giovanni [20] e di Matteo.[21] Inoltre qualche accenno può farci pensare ad atti apocrifi.[22] Per le interpolazioni si veda I, 56 *aut siqua sunt litteris conscriptionibusque mandata, malevolentia daemonum, quorum cura et studium est hanc intercipi veritatem, et consimilium his hominum interpolata quaedam et addita, partim mutata atque detracta verbis syllabis litteris, ut et prudentium tardaret fidem et gestorum corrumperet auctoritatem.*[23] A questo passo si può aggiungere II, 12 *quae omnia vos gesta neque scitis neque scire voluistis neque umquam vobis necessaria iudicastis, ac dum vestris fiditis cordibus et quod typhus est sapientiam vocatis, dedistis circumscriptoribus locum, illis, inquam, noxiis, quorum nomen interest obsolefieri Christianum, superfundendi caligines atque obscurandi res tantas, eripiendae vobis fidei subiciendique contemptus, ut, quia sibi praesentiunt finem pro meritis imminere, vobis quoque immitterent causam, per quam periculum adire possetis et viduari benignitate divina.* Concordanza esiste tra Arnobio e l'anonimo per quel che riguarda il rifiuto dell'interpretazione allegorica, anche se da parte dell'anonimo non si esclude che una cosa possa essere *signum* di un'altra.[24] Però non si deve *figuras rerum honestarum de rebus turpibus ducere* ma *rebus congruis non contrariis aliquid* est *significandum.*[25] E' probabile che soprattutto contro questo tipo

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[19] Arn. I, 6 (Cfr. l'anonimo, Aug. I, 35. 36); I, 60; II, 6.

[20] Arn. II, 32. 64. 65.

[21] Arn. I, 6. 53; II, 64; III, 24. Per le allusioni al NT in Arnobio v. Scheidweiler, pp. 47–48.

[22] Arn. I, 56; II, 12. Per citazioni da scritti apocrifi nell'anonimo cfr. Aug. I, 39 e II, 14 (il Cristo dice: *Dimisistis vivum qui ante vos est et de mortuis fabulamini*).

[23] Cfr. Scheidweiler, p. 46.

[24] Aug. I, 30 e v. anche I, 34. Per Marcione cfr. Harnack, pp. 66–67 (rifiuto dell'interpretazione allegorica).

[25] Aug. II, 34. Cfr. Arn. V, 44 *deorum nominibus appellavistis res turpes et vocabulis rursus deos rerum coinquinavistis infamium . . . etiam nomina debent esse deorum reverenda.* Arnobio tratta dell'interpretazione allegorica nei capitoli 32–45 del quinto libro.

di allegoria si rivolgano l'anonimo e Arnobio.[26] Una differenziazione tra i credenti sembra esistere in Arnobio ed è da porre in relazione forse con l'ascesi di questi seguaci del Cristo oppure con particolari doni divini.[27] Si potrà applicare questa differenziazione anche nei riguardi della lettura dei testi canonici ricordando i *perfectiores* dell'anonimo [28]? Forse un ricordo di questo sta alla base degli *altioris intellegentiae doctores*, che Arnobio pensa possano leggere ed intendere anche l'Antico Testamento. A noi non sembra che si tratti di ironia come vuole lo Scheidweiler.

Il dio buono secondo Marcione [29] crea soltanto cose invisibili. Lo Scheidweiler [30] ha rilevato come ciò si possa riscontrare in Arnobio (I, 31; II, 45) che definisce inoltre (II, 2) il dio buono *bonorum omnium solus caput et fons, perpetuarum pater fundator et conditor rerum.*[31] Anche l'anonimo trattava delle cose buone e perpetue: infatti sant'Agostino accenna in I, 8 a una *disputatio, qua vult persuadere, quidquid oritur et moritur bonum esse non posse.*[32] In un altro passo (I, 6) l'anonimo *bonum esse aliquid negat, quia aequale deo non esse cognoscit.* Si tratta di proposizioni che si ritrovano in Arnobio con derivazioni dal Timeo platonico.[33] Il dio buono è per Arnobio il creatore di tutte le cose? In alcuni passi (I, 29–30) sembra di leggere così e se non si tratta di uno sviluppo

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[26] L'anonimo interpreta allegoricamente p. es. in Aug. II, 13 dove i Cretesi di Tit. I, 12 sarebbero i profeti giudaici, Harnack p. 431*. A differenza di Marcione che aveva accettato (v. Harnack p. 143) Eph. V, 22–32, l'anonimo sembra rigettare Gal. IV, 22–26 e Eph. V, 31–32 (cfr. Aug. II, 34).

[27] Arn. I, 46 *qui* (Christus) *iustissimis viris etiamnunc inpollutis ac diligentibus sese non per vana insomnia sed per purae speciem simplicitatis apparet;* I, 63 *quae* (mysteria) *nulli nec homines scire nec . . . nisi quos ipse dignatus est cognitionis tantae inpertire muneribus et in abditos recessus thesauri interioris inducere.*

[28] Aug. II, 3 in cui Patrizio si rifaceva a I Cor. IX, 19 e ss. Per l'uso dell'allegoria in Marcione v. Harnack pp. 86 e 116 (l'apostolo poteva interpretare allegoricamente). Il procedimento di Patrizio sembra collegarsi alla prassi seguita da Apelle, cfr. per quest' ultimo Harnack, pp. 192 e n. 1 e 419*.

[29] Tert. Adv. Marc. I, 16.

[30] Scheidweiler, pp. 42–43.

[31] Per le cose perfette v. Arn. II, 46. 48 e la *virtus perfectissima* di II, 37.

[32] Cfr. inoltre Aug. I, 3 *nullum esse sine fine principium* e Arn. II, 35.

[33] Cfr. Arn. II, 37. 46. 48.

retorico, essendo questi capitoli inseriti in una sezione in cui Arnobio dimostra che i Cristiani adorano il dio supremo (I, 25–35), si può pensare che egli ritenesse il dio buono creatore di tutte le cose se non immediatamente, mediatamente.[34] Egli parla di una *divinitatis obscuritas* (II, 60) ed è molto probabile che ammetta una gerarchia di esseri divini dal *deus primus* agli *dii* [35] *angeli daemones* (II, 35). Tra questi esseri divini interessa a noi principalmente, a parte il Cristo, il creatore dell'anima. Arnobio in II, 36 afferma *non esse animas regis maximi filias . . . sed alterum quempiam genitorem his esse, dignitatis et potentiae gradibus satis plurimis ab imperatore diiunctum, eius tamen ex aula et eminentium nobilem sublimitate natalium.*[36] Senza dubbio il piú vicino termine di confronto è il demiurgo di Marcione, creatore dell'anima e del corpo, quest'ultimo con l'aiuto della materia. Ma mentre per Marcione l'uomo non ha alcun rapporto con il dio buono, un mutamento si è operato in seguito. Per l'anonimo esiste una *cognatio* [37] tra il dio buono e l'uomo mentre il corpo è creato dal diavolo. Analoga la posizione di Arnobio. Il creatore dell'anima [38] è, come si è detto, in rapporto con il dio buono. Uscita dalle mani del suo creatore l'anima cade [39]

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[34] Forse si possono citare le definizioni di *boni factor* (Aug. I, 48) e *mundi factor* (II, 36) dall'anonimo usate per il dio cattivo. L'uso del verbo *facere* implica, secondo la distinzione di I, 48, la presenza di qualcosa di buono preesistente ed estraneo al demiurgo.

[35] Sugli dei pagani v. Scheidweiler, pp. 51–52. L'aggiunta *si sunt* che appare in Arnobio (p. es. in I, 28) deriva dal testo di I Cor. VIII, 5 per il quale v. Harnack, pp. 86* e 307*.

[36] Cfr. Arn. II, 48 *ex mediocribus familiis;* II, 53 *ab rebus non principalibus editas.*

[37] Aug. II, 36 *qui nos suae cognationis ostendens,* cfr. II, 37 *qui nos fratres suos fecit gratia, non natura* (replica di sant'Agostino). Per i particolari v. I, 22 *flatus autem ille Dei qui hominem animavit factus est ab ipso, non de ipso . . . animam tamen non esse partem Dei, nec de substantia et natura eius creatam sive prolatam, sed ex nihilo factam, dubitare fas non est.* Questa *cognatio* è di natura gnostica, non marcionita, secondo Harnack, p. 390* n. 4, v. inoltre p. 167 e ss.

[38] Per la distinzione *anima-corpo* in Arnobio v. II, 13. 48. 52.

[39] Arn. II, 37 *imprudenter adpeterent terrena haec loca,* ma cfr. I, 29 *nonne huic* (al *deus primus*) *omnes debemus . . . quod ab eo vel missae animae vel lapsae caecitate huius in corporis continemur?* Questo passo fa pensare ad Apelle, per il quale le anime, create dal dio buono, preesistono al mondo.

e il diavolo crea il corpo.[40] Si veda l'interessante capitolo II, 46 con le tre fasi della creazione dell'uomo: *sed procul haec abeat . . . tam immanis et scelerata persuasio, ut ille salus rerum deus . . . perfecta omnia faciens et integritatis suae conservantia mensiones aut aliquid fecerit claudum et quod minus esset a recto, aut ulli rei fuerit miseriarum aut discriminum causa, aut ipsos actus quibus vita transigitur et celebratur humana ordinaverit, iusserit et ab sua fluere constitutione praeceperit.*[41] La creazione del corpo da parte del diavolo [42] risulta chiara da due passi arnobiani. Nel primo (II, 55) si afferma che gli elementi, cioè la materia, non possono essere detti *malitiosa* perché inanimati: piuttosto sarà *malitiosus et noxius, qui res pessimas et nocentissimas futuras in alicuius operis adsumpsit effectum.* L'altro è II, 44 *si enim degeneres futuras locorum immutationibus* [43] *sciebat . . . aut extrinsecus aliquid accessurum his esse, quod eas faceret oblivisci . . .* Anche per la caduta crediamo di trovare un accenno in Patrizio perché ci sembra che all'eresia patriciana debba essere riferito un passo delle *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, che sono comunemente attribuite all'*Ambrosiaster*. L'autore risponde a un avversario di cui probabilmente ignora

[40] Arn. II, 52 *Quid? si et haec non sunt et est aliqua res alia, alia causa, alia ratio, potestas alia denique inauditi nobis atque incogniti nominis, genus quae hominum finxerit et rerum constitutionibus adplicarit?* Cfr. II, 63 *Potestis, inquam, scire id quod Christo potuit docente cognosci, infinita an finita sint saecula ex quo in terris esse genus hominum coepit, quando primum animae corporibus inligatae, quis auctor vinctionis istius, quinimmo ipsius quisnam hominis fabricator, quo priorum abscesserint animae, quibus in mundi partibus aut regionibus fuerint, corruptibiles an contra, potuerintne accedere ad periculum moriendi, nisi tempore necessario conservator occurrisset Christus?*

[41] Per Marcione cfr. Tert. Adv. Marc. II, 5 *Si deus bonus et praescius futuri et avertendi mali potens, cur hominem, et quidem imaginem et similitudinem suam, immo et substantiam suam, per animae scil. censum, passus est labi de obsequio legis in mortem, circumventum a diabolo? si enim et bonus . . . et praescius . . . et potens . . . nullo modo evenisset quod sub his tribus condicionibus divinae maiestatis evenire non posset.*

[42] Per Apelle v. Tert. De carne Christi 8 *sed quoniam et isti Apelleiaci carnis ignominiam praetendunt maxime, quam volunt ab igneo illo praeside mali sollicitatis animabus adstructam et idcirco indignam Christo;* De anima 23 *Apelles sollicitatas refert animas terrenis escis de supercaelestibus sedibus ab igneo angelo, deo Israelis et nostro, qui exinde illis peccatricem circumfinxerit carnem.*

[43] Arn. I, 12 *prius est ut doceatis, unde vel qui sitis, vobisne sit genitus et fabricatus mundus an in eum veneritis alienis ex regionibus inquilini.*

l'identità dicendo: *sed quis tu es, qui nuptias prohibes? forte Marcion, quia corpus non a deo fabricatum putas, sed a diabolo, animam vero errore quodam lapsum passam, ut ad tenebrarum partes, in quibus nunc mundus est, veniret, contendis* (p. 406 Souter) [44].

Possiamo parlare in Arnobio di dualismo [45]? Il sistema di Marcione è chiaramente dualistico [46]: si può dire lo stesso dell'anonimo? Non sembra: in lui appare il diavolo, creatore della carne e di questo mondo, *princeps huius saeculi.*[47] Ha creato l'anima? Forse no, perché in questo mondo noi siamo pellegrini.[48] Se il dio dell'Antico Testamento non è altri che il diavolo [49] ed è definito *pessimus daemon*,[50] forse possiamo essere autorizzati a pensare che non si tratti di un dio opposto al dio buono.[51] In Arnobio troviamo un esplicito accenno al diavolo in IV, 13 *aut si haec accipere rei novitate rennuitis, unde vobis est scire an sit unus aliquis qui succedat pro omnibus quos invocatis . . . multorum vobis speciem divorum praebeat et potestatum? Quisnam iste est unus? interrogabitis forte. Possumus instituti veris auctoribus dicere, sed ne nobis fidem habere nolitis, Aegyptios Persas Indos Chaldaeos Armenios interrogetis omnesque illos alios, qui in interioribus viderunt et cognoverunt haec artibus: iam profecto discetis, quisnam sit deus unus vel sub eo qui plurimi,*

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[44] Il Harnack vede un influsso gnostico-manicheo in questo passo, p. 169. Ma esso sembra inserirsi naturalmente in una linea che va da Marcione a Patrizio attraverso Apelle, il cui sistema Harnack, p. 194 definisce "eine interessante Verbindung des Marcionitismus mit dem Gnostizismus auf Kosten des ersteren,,. Per i rapporti gnosticismo-marcionismo v. poi p. 196 n. 1. Sulla presenza di materiale apelleiaco in Patrizio v. p. 390* n. 4.

[45] Cfr. Scheidweiler, pp. 49–52, in particolare p. 49 dove si nega il dualismo di Arnobio.

[46] Per Marcione v. Harnack, pp. 97, 160–161.

[47] Aug. II, 24 *hinc existimat quod morti ministraverit Moyses, id est, mortis auctori, maligno scilicet spiritui, quem mundi huius iste opinatur auctorem.* Cfr. II, 36 *non huius saeculi principem et mundi factorem.*

[48] Aug. II, 36 *mundi factorem, in quo nos peregrinari saepissime declaratum est.*

[49] Cfr. per Apelle Harnack, pp. 189–191. Per Apelle il creatore del mondo è un angelo (*inclitus, gloriosus*) diverso dal diavolo.

[50] Aug. Retract. II, 58.

[51] Non mancano però incertezze, cfr. II, 29 *ubi* (II Cor. IV, 4) *miser iste Deum saeculi huius vult intellegi malum* e l'osservazione di sant'Agostino *ita si potest dici deus huius saeculi diabolus, non ideo diabolus deus est* e II, 36 *discretio spirituum malignitatis et bonitatis.*

qui deos se fingant et humani generis inprudentiam ludant.[52] Al diavolo devono riferirsi due passi simili: Arn. I, 48 Cristo guarisce tutte le malattie, *quae humana corpora sustinere nescio qua voluit inportuna crudelitas*[53] e II, 46 l'uomo non è creato se non *ne materiam non haberent per quam diffunderent se mala, et essent miseri semper, quorum cruciatibus pasceretur nescio qua vis latens et humanitati adversa crudelitas*[54]. Il diavolo quindi e i suoi demoni dominano questo mondo (creato dal diavolo per Arnobio [55]?) e merito grandissimo del Cristo è *ab latronibus*[56] *pessimis miserorum hominum inprudentiam vindicasse.*[57] Rimane qualche dubbio: il diavolo per Arnobio è un dio? Sembra di sí se si accetta il testo tradito in IV, 13 e non si accoglie la correzione dello Scheidweiler *iste unus.*[58] E in tal caso si dovrà parlare di dualismo? E poi: chi è il diavolo [59]? Riesce difficile rispondere a questi interrogativi per mancanza di testimonianze precise. Noi per comodità parleremo di dio cattivo

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52 Cfr. II, 14 (le anime) *consumentur igni fero, in quem illas iacient quidam crudeliter saevi et ante Christum incogniti et ab solo sciente detecti.*

53 Cfr. Aug. II, 39 *Videte sane unde probare voluerit humanorum corporum vitia, non ad deum auctorem, sed potius ad diabolum pertinere; quia Dominus ait* (segue Lc. 13, 11–16.)

54 Cfr. Aug. I, 33 *in sola crudelitate malis tantummodo gloriantem* (scil. *Dei comminationem:* Deut. 32, 41–42).

55 Secondo Arnobio I, 38 è merito del Cristo averci fatto conoscere *quo auctore, quo patre mundus iste sit constitutus et conditus* . . . Egli che *nativitatis eius exprompsit genus et nullius aliquando cognitione praesumptam materiam illius.* Ad onta di queste dichiarazioni noi non sappiamo se per lui il creatore del mondo è identico al creatore del corpo. L'unico passo che può sostenere questa identificazione è VII, 35 *nos potentias caelites discretas esse sexibus abnegamus, quoniam discrimen huiusmodi terrenis animantibus datum est, quas coire, quas generare auctor voluit rerum substituendis per libidinem prolibus.*

56 I demoni sono introdotti da Arnobio alla fine del libro VII come spiegazione degli dei pagani: cosí anche l'anonimo per il quale (Aug. II, 4) *illa sacra gentium ad daemonia pertinebant.*

57 Arn. II, 4. Cfr. l'anonimo, Aug. II, 16 *illud quoque ait dixisse Dominum: Ego sum ianua ovium: omnes alii quotquot ante me venerunt, fures sunt et latrones* (Joh. 10, 8).

58 Scheidweiler, p. 67.

59 Secondo Marcione (Tert. Adv. Marc. V, 16) il diavolo è un *angelus creatoris*, cfr. Harnack, pp. 309* e 311*.

o dio del male, lasciando in sospeso per Arnobio il problema della identità o meno del demiurgo e del diavolo.[60]

Le caratteristiche del dio cattivo sono esemplate nel marcionismo sul modello del dio dell'Antico Testamento e lungo sarebbe elencarle tutte. Anche nell'anonimo ricompare buona parte delle Antitesi di Marcione e per Arnobio possiamo forse citare un'allusione che si trova in VII, 7 *sed neque illud dici aut audire deposco, quas irarum in homines habeant dii causas, ut sacrificiis debeant contracta offensione mulceri: numquid aliquas leges sanxere aliquando mortalibus constitutumque est ab his umquam, quid eos agere conveniret vel quid non, quid consectari, quid fugere, vel coli se saltem quibus rationibus cuperent, ut aliter quam imperaverant gesta ultionibus persequerentur irarum contemptique se vellent de audacibus et transgressoribus vindicare* [61]? Rifiuto quindi dei sacrifici come nell'anonimo (Aug. I, 37 *non est credendus deus verus, qui sacrificiis delectatur* [62]) e negazione dell'ira divina.[63] L'anonimo condanna in I, 40 la *poenitentia*, l'*ira*, la *misericordia*, lo *zelus* del dio dell'Antico Testamento e Arnobio da parte sua nega come caratteristica divina ogni passione e in special modo l'ira.[64] Insieme con il motivo dell'*inpietas* essa anzi costituisce uno dei legami formali tra le diverse sezioni della seconda parte (libri III–VII) dell'*Adversus Nationes*.

L'atto principale del dio cattivo è la creazione dell'uomo. Egli ha infuso nella sua creatura l'*infirmitas* propria di un essere non perfetto in quanto inferiore a Dio e la *malitia* propria della materia. Sant'Agostino riferisce (I, 18) che l'anonimo rimproverava *hominis conditorem, quia prohibuerit sumere cibum dignoscentiae boni et mali*,

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[60] Il creatore dell'anima sembra essere diverso dal demiurgo, cfr. Scheidweiler, p. 50 n. 13. Per i rapporti demiurgo-diavolo-materia in Marcione cfr. Harnack, pp. 97–99 e per qualche somiglianza con il marcionita Megezio, pp. 165–166, 345*.

[61] Cfr. Aug. II, 37 *vindicandi causas inquirit* e nello stesso capitolo *praeter se dicens non esse alium deum.*

[62] Cfr. Aug. I, 38 *evidenter servisse daemoniis, qui* (scil. David) *sacrificiis ea promeruit* con citazione di I Cor. X, 18–20 in un testo diverso (per il testo di Marcione v. Harnack, p. 88* e inoltre p. 428*).

[63] Cfr. Aug. II, 37 *sui animi perturbationem irae vel indignationis nomine nuncupavit.*

[64] Al riguardo la coincidenza di vedute tra Marcione e Arnobio era stata già notata da M. Pohlenz, Vom Zorne Gottes, Göttingen 1909, pp. 47–48.

tamquam eum pecoribus parem voluisset [65] *nescientibus ista discernere, et hoc ei negasset cui potestatem dedisset in bestias, quo solo homo superat bestias . . .*[66]. E si veda Arnobio III, 16 *Nam quid in homine pulchrum est, quid, quaeso, admirabile vel decorum, nisi quod et clurino cum pecore nescio quis auctor voluit esse commune?* e i passi in cui il dio cattivo è introdotto come autore del corpo dei *terrena animantia*, che sono gli animali e l'uomo posti sullo stesso piano.[67] Tipico poi del marcionismo è un altro tratto che compare in Arnobio: il dio buono non è l'autore degli animali inutili o dannosi.[68] Altro motivo tradizionale il disprezzo per la carne: lo Scheidweiler [69] ha già citato i corpi *tenebrosa, stercoris utres et saccati obscenissimae seriae humoris* [70] che trovano riscontro nella *caro stercoribus infersa* di Marcione (Tert. Adv. Marc. III, 10). Il cupo pessimismo arnobiano [71] può trovare una interessante corrispondenza nell'atteggiamento dei seguaci di Patrizio che, secondo le parole di Filastrio, (*carnem*) *contemnendam et modis omnibus abiiciendam decernunt, ut etiam ultro quidam ex eis sibi mortem inferre non dubitaverint.*[72] Ed è il corpo a causare tutte le miserie dell'uomo,[73] elencate a lungo nei capitoli 39–42 del secondo libro. *Infirmitas* e anche ferocia delle anime che hanno assunto dai corpi principii malefici.[74] Come si

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[65] Cfr. Arn. II, 7 *quos ita caecos et superbos nescio quae res protulit et concinnavit invidia.*

[66] V. anche Aug. I, 19.

[67] Arn. III, 8; VII, 35.

[68] Arn. II, 47. 52. 59.

[69] Scheidweiler, p. 43.

[70] Arn. II, 37 cfr. I, 51 *ex ore terrenis stercoribus innutrito.*

[71] Arn. II, 76 *Sed et nobis in huiusmodi casibus minime auxiliatur deus. Prompta et manifesta causa est. Nihil enim nobis promissum ad hanc vitam nec in carunculae huius folliculo constitutis opis aliquid sponsum est auxiliique decretum; quinimmo edocti sumus minas omnes quaecumque sunt parvi ducere atque existimare fortunae, ac si quando ingruerit vis quaepiam gravior, quam finem necesse sit consequi, adscribere infortunio voluptatem nec timere nec fugere quo facilius exui corporalibus possimus ex vinculis et tenebrosam evadere caecitatem.*

[72] Cfr. Aug. I, 18 *quod vero in hominis conditorem Deum caecus et ingratus invehitur, et audet dicere ei qui se finxit "Quare sic me fecisti?,,* Per la propensione al martirio dei marcioniti v. Harnack, p. 149 s.

[73] Cfr. Aug. I, 45 *cur exinde peiores oriuntur, et in eosdem actus vitae sordentis, humani generis etiam nunc nativitas revolvitur?*

[74] Arn. II, 39 *ut in pacata et placida tranquillitate degentes* (le anime

vede siamo ben lontani dalla concezione antropocentrica del Cristianesimo ortodosso e lontani dalla concezione del peccato come atto della libera volontà dell'uomo, perché come afferma Arnobio in I, 49 *naturalis infirmitas peccatorem hominem* facit, *non voluntatis et iudicationis electio*. Questa la vita dell'uomo sulla terra: ignoranza, schiavitú in balia dei demoni e del loro capo, nessun aiuto da parte del dio buono e imminenza di una morte che consumi e annienti le anime dopo atroci tormenti.

Il Cristo salva l'uomo dal *periculum ignorationis* (Arn. II, 2) perché in primo luogo Egli ci ha resi consapevoli della verità. Mandato *ab ignotis regnis* [75] dal Padre, compare sulla terra *auspicium faustum portans et praeconium salutare credentibus* (I, 65). Per i marcioniti infatti il Cristo non era nato ma era apparso nel 15° anno di Tiberio. Figlio [76] del dio supremo,[77] anche se nel marcionismo prevale una concezione modalistica,[78] Egli ottempera alla volontà del Padre [79] e realizza l' economia della salvezza.[80] Per questo Egli s'incarna [81] in un corpo d'uomo solo apparente (il docetismo è un tratto costante del marcionismo) e per mezzo dei miracoli attesta [82] la Sua divinità, ottenendo dagli uomini la fede nella promessa di

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prima della caduta) *adsumerent ex corporibus causas quibus ferae fierent et immanes*.

75 Arn. I, 53 cfr. II, 11 *divinae alicuius atque incognitae potestatis*. Per l'anonimo (Aug. II, 9) non ci sono profeti né Spirito Santo prima del Cristo (anche per Apelle lo Spirito Santo è venuto insieme col Cristo, Harnack p. 193).

76 Anche l'anonimo distingue il Padre dal Figlio, cfr. la citazione di Joh. 8, 19 (Aug. II, 19).

77 Per la presenza di una dottrina emanazionistica in Arnobio v. Scheidweiler, p. 50.

78 Lo Scheidweiler nega per Arnobio il modalismo (p. 55) e forse ha torto il Harnack a dedurre il modalismo di Patrizio da Aug. II, 37.

79 Arn. II, 65 e per un certo subordinazionismo v. Scheidweiler, p. 55.

80 Quella che Arnobio indica col termine *ratio*, cfr. I, 63 *sed quia fieri ratio ea quae fuerant destinata poscebat* ("le plan,, Festugière p. 222); II, 62 *nisi ab domino rerum datum fuerit animis id quod ratio postulat idque per mandatum* (ma v. Scheidweiler, p. 66); I, 62 *si non agenda res esset et inexplicabilis ratio fati clausis patefacienda mysteriis*.

81 Arn. I, 60, cfr. Scheidweiler, pp. 56–57.

82 V. Scheidweiler, pp. 46–47 sul valore dei miracoli del Cristo. E' da notare che Arnobio parla anche dei miracoli degli apostoli (Arn. I, 50; II, 12). A differenza di Marcione, Patrizio accettava gli apostoli (cfr. Aug. II, 12).

una eterna salvezza. L'offerta del Cristo non obbliga nessuno (Arn. II, 64) e si rivolge a tutti gli uomini,[83] vivi o defunti,[84] cancellando nell'infinita misericordia [85] ogni peccato,[86] indipendentemente dai meriti di ognuno [87] per la consapevolezza che tutto il genere umano è dedito al peccato per vizio d'origine. Oltre alla *cognitio* [88] e alla *fides* si richiede da parte del credente [89] un' ascesi abbastanza rigida che, nell'intenzione di Marcione, mirava a rinunziare il piú possibile al demiurgo, accelerando la fine del suo regno.[90] Tipici a questo riguardo sono la condanna del matrimonio [91] e il rifiuto di cibarsi di carne.[92] Anche l'anonimo doveva fare riferimento a questi divieti se sant'Agostino applica a lui le parole di Paolo in I Tim. IV, 1–3.[93] Per Patrizio non si può dubitare della presenza di un' ascesi sol che si pensi ai dati degli eresiologi e in particolare alla notizia dell'autore del *Praedestinatus* (c. 61) per cui i Patriciani *hunc* dicunt *esse perfectum qui se potuerit constanter occidere.* Per Arnobio i passi relativi all'ascesi sono stati già raccolti dallo Scheidweiler [94]: egli accenna (I, 46) a *iustissimis viris etiamnunc inpollutis*

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[83] Per Marcione v. Harnack, p. 128.

[84] Arn. II, 63, cfr. Scheidweiler, p. 57 e per Marcione Harnack, p. 130.

[85] Cfr. Aug. I, 36 a proposito di Mt. 18, 22, Harnack, p. 428*.

[86] Cfr. Aug. II, 37 *qui non omnium, sicut iste ait, sed eorum quos ante praescivit et praedestinavit, delicta dimittit.*

[87] Arn. I, 49 *Hoc est enim proprium dei veri potentiaeque regalis, benignitatem suam negare nulli nec reputare quis mereatur aut minime, cum naturalis infirmitas peccatorem hominem faciat, non voluntatis et iudicationis electio.*

[88] Arn. II, 32 *eius enim cognitio fermentum quoddam est vitae ac rei dissociabilis glutinum.*

[89] Per le condizioni della salvezza v. Scheidweiler, p. 59.

[90] Alcune particolarità del culto marcionita, in complesso simile a quello della Grosskirche, possono spiegare certe singolarità notate in Arnobio. La sezione sul vino (Arn. VII, 29–31) non appare incomprensibile se si ricorda che i marcioniti usavano acqua nel sacrificio divino. Anche gli strali contro i *natales deorum* (VII, 32) si giustificano perché il marcionismo non ha accettato il racconto evangelico della nascita di Gesú. Cfr. anche Scheidweiler, p. 61.

[91] V. Scheidweiler, p. 58.

[92] V. Scheidweiler, p. 59.

[93] Aug. II, 32. E' da notare poi nell'anonimo la condanna delle ricchezze cfr. Aug. II, 37 *terrenas divitias . . . damnari iussit.*

[94] Scheidweiler, pp. 58–59. Per il giudizio di Clemente Alessandrino sulla ascesi marcionita v. Harnack, p. 322*.

ac diligentibus sese (scil. Christum), ai quali il Cristo si manifesta in maniera diversa a causa forse del loro grado di perfezione.[95]

Per Marcione la morte del Cristo è il prezzo che il dio buono paga per il riscatto degli uomini: è difficile dire se questo atto di riscatto esistesse pure in Patrizio[96]. E' certo comunque che la morte del Cristo [97] rappresenta per Arnobio l'inizio della realizzazione delle Sue promesse. Gli effetti della missione del Cristo appaiono evidenti già durante la vita degli uomini, essendo operata in loro una *μεταβολή* capace di estinguere i residui della *feritas*.[98] Ma l'acquisto principale per gli uomini [99] è l'immortalità, alla quale essi approdano da uno stato intermedio chiamato da Arnobio con la denominazione di *media qualitas*.[100] Per le anime che rifiutano il dono divino non rimane che cadere in balia dei demoni che in fine le annienteranno[101]; per i credenti è preparata l'immortalità [102] dell'anima,[103] ma non la resurrezione del corpo.[104]

Queste le somiglianze da noi rilevate, sufficienti, crediamo, per precisare il posto che Arnobio occupa nella tradizione gnostico-manichea d'Africa, sulla quale ha richiamato l'attenzione il Frend.[105]

Palermo, 15, via Vincenzo Errante

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95 V. n. 27. Cfr. anche Scheidweiler, p. 57 a proposito di Arn. I, 60.

96 Per maggiori particolari sulla morte del Cristo in Arnobio v. Scheidweiler, p. 58. Di tali *mysteria* si parla nei capitoli I, 62–63.

97 Si tratta della morte dell'*homo quem induerat* (Arn. I, 62).

98 Cfr. Arn. I, 6; II, 5. Per il marcionita Megezio v. Harnack, p. 296*. Da notare per l'anonimo Aug. II, 37 *qui alterum ab altero non utcumque laedi, sed iniuria laedi noluit.*

99 Non si dimentichi però che la salvezza è per i marcioniti solo una speranza durante questa vita, cfr. Harnack, pp. 96. 137.

100 Arn. II, 14 cfr. *medietas* II, 31.

101 Arn. II, 14. 61. 62. 64.

102 Arn. I, 64; II, 2. 34. 65, cfr. Scheidweiler, p. 57.

103 Arn. II, 63. 65.

104 Arn. II, 13, cfr. Scheidweiler, p. 60. Per l'anonimo forse è da citare Aug. II, 22 con il riferimento a I Cor. XV, 50.

105 W. H. C. Frend, The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition in Roman North Africa, JEH, 1953, pp. 13–26.

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TEXTES DE S. JÉRÔME (ET D'AUTRES) SUR LA JOIE DU MALHEUR D'AUTRUI

PAR

PAUL ANTIN O.S.B.

La joie maligne qu'on peut éprouver au mal des autres a été notée par Aristote, *Ethique à Nicomaque* [1]: c'est l'*ἐπιχαιρεκακία*; loin de s'affliger du malheur d'autrui, l'*ἐπιχαιρέκακος* s'en réjouit. Cette *Schadenfreude* [2] a été décelée sans peine chez les dieux grecs par Ed. Tournier [3] dans son livre *Némésis et la jalousie des dieux*.[4]

Donnons au moins quelques exemples tirés du latin païen. Plaute [5] disait dans *Stichus*, 207: « . . . Qu'ils puissent se réjouir de ma perte, car un curieux se double toujours d'un malveillant,

. . . ut damno gaudeant,
nam curiosus nemo est, quin sit maleuolus ».

Horace nous fournit, Sat. 1, 4, 78–79: «Tu mets ta joie à blesser . . . c'est chez toi un parti pris de méchanceté,

. . . laedere gaudes . . .
. . . et hoc studio prauos facis ».

Sénèque [6] remarquait dans son *De Ira* au sujet de ce vice: *Peior est quam luxuria, quoniam illa sua uoluptate fruitur, haec alieno*

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[1] *Eth. de Nic.* éd. trad. J. Voilquin (d'après le texte procuré par Susemihl chez Teubner en 1903), Paris, s.d., pp. 78–79 (Classiques Garnier).

[2] Voir mon *Essai sur S. Jérôme*, Paris, Letouzey, 1951, p. 105 n. 1. J'écrivais après une seule allusion: « On trouverait d'autres textes sur la *Schadenfreude.* » En voici.

[3] Cité par A.-J. Festugière, *La sainteté*, Paris, 1942, p. 54 n. 1 (coll. *Mythes et religions*, 9).

[4] Paris, 1863, pp. 18, 19, 40, 41, 57, 58.

[5] Je cite pour Plaute la trad. A. Ernout, t. 6, 1938, p. 224, coll. Budé; pour Horace celle de F. Villeneuve, 1931, p. 64.

[6] *De ira*, 3, 5, 5 éd. trad. A. Bourgery, rééd. 1942, p. 70. (*Dial.* t. 1, p. 70, coll. Budé).

dolore. En 396, Claudien,[7] en son poème contre Rufin, a quelques traits fort expressifs pour notre *ὕβρις* :

> « *exsultatque malis . . . immensa uoluptas*
> *et risus plerumque subit : dolor afficit unus,*
> *quod feriat non ipsa manu . . . crimine tanto*
> *luxuriat . . .* »

La Bible connaît ce sentiment trouble. Le P. Calès,[8] à propos de Ps. 79, 4 et 12, accuse de *Schadenfreude* les voisins d'Israël. Dans sa belle édition commentée de Job, publiée parmi les « Etudes bibliques » en 1926, Dhorme signale à deux reprises des allusions à la *Schadenfreude*, p. 211, en 16, 7 (la Vulgate 16, 8 rend l'hébreu de façon peu pertinente), et p. 422 en 31, 29. Le second texte, il est vrai, est une protestation pour écarter ce sentiment odieux ; citons la Vulgate qui correspond bien à l'hébreu : *Si gauisus sum ad ruinam ejus qui me oderat, et exultaui quod inuenisset eum malum.* Les Proverbes (2, 14) blâment ceux qui *laetantur cum malefecerint et exsultant in rebus pessimis.*

Origène, au cours d'une homélie sur Luc [9] (vers 233–234 ?) voit très bien que de tels plaisirs sont au détriment de qui les éprouve : « Le diable . . . se réjouit, pour sa propre perte, *gaudentem in propriam perniciem*, d'avoir tant de monde dans son empire. » Entre 244 et 249, il s'écrie dans une homélie sur les Nombres [10] : *Si in malis gaudeam et exsultem de aliorum ruinis, ista jam non solum uana, sed et diabolica gaudia, immo nec gaudia nominanda sunt.*

S. Ambroise, vers 377–389, a un passage qui va bien à notre propos, *In Lucam* [11] : « Comme établis au-dessus de la nature

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[7] Ch. 2, 68. M. G. H., A. A., t. 10, 1892, p. 36, vers 62, 68, 71 Th. Birt.

[8] *Le livre des psaumes*, t. 2, Paris, 1936, p. 61.

[9] Hom. 30, 3 trad. par S. Jérôme vers 390. PL 26, 285 D ou Vallarsi 339–340 ; G. C. S. Origenes Werke, t. 9, Berlin, 1959, p. 173, 17 M. Rauer ; *Sources chrét.*, 87, 1962, pp. 372, 373.

[10] Hom. 11, 8 trad. par Rufin. G.C.S. Origenes Werke, t. 7–2, Berlin, 1921, p. 92, 3 W. A. Baehrens ; *Sources chrét.*, 29, 1951, p. 230 en bas (trad. A. Méhat). Dom Etienne Tavares Bettencourt, dans sa très utile thèse *Doctrina ascetica Origenis seu quid docuerit de ratione animae humanae cum daemonibus*, Rome, 1945 (*Studia Anselmiana*, 16) ne s'est pas arrêté à ces deux textes.

[11] Livre 8, 14. CSEL, 32–4, 1902, p. 398, 10 Schenkl ; *Sources chrét.* 52, t. 2, 1958, p. 106 G. Tissot.

humaine, ils trouvent dans la misère des pauvres un assaisonnement à leurs plaisirs, se rient de l'indigent, insultent le miséreux et dépouillent ceux dont il conviendrait d'avoir pitié . . . *de miseriis pauperum incentiua suarum capiunt uoluptatum, rideant inopem . . .* »

S. Jérôme parle plusieurs fois de ce sadisme. Ainsi, vers 391–392, en commentant Michée: [12] *Dicimus aduersum filiam Sion, quae interpretatur Ecclesia, multas nationes daemonum congregari et . . . insultare et in occisione filiorum eius gaudere.* A la même époque, sur Aggée,[13] il a une idée assez originale. En vrai poète, inspiré par la fable de Juges 9, 14–15, il prête une âme au buisson épineux, une âme méchante qui prend plaisir à faire saigner: *arbusculam sentibus uncinisque contextam, quae teneat quidquid attigerit et retentum uulneret, et uulneratorum sanguine delectetur . . . Referimus autem r(h)amnum ad diabolum et secundum uirgulti naturam, illius naturam interpretabimur.*

En 396, Abdias,[14] 10, lui fournit un premier crayon [15] de la chûte d'un chrétien, joie des ennemis de l'Eglise: *Eo igitur tempore quo persecutionis impetu et mortiferis uoluptatibus de Ecclesia quispiam corruerit, videmus exsultare haereticos, gaudere Judaeum . . .* L'orchestration du thème reprend en Abdias 13: *exsultat in malis eorum . . . Videns illos exsultare, gaudere, nostram ruinam putare uictoriam.* Et en Abdias, 15–16: *Quomodo enim in nece eorum laetatus es, conuiuiumque celebrasti, et in monte sancto meo . . . bibisti non meum calicem, sed diaboli . . . Laetati estis in ruinam seruorum meorum.*

Entre 400 et 410, Jérôme commente les psaumes [16] pour ses confrères de Bethléem. A propos du Ps. 108, 6, il évoque *Barabbas latro qui sanguine delectatur*, et pour le verset 14 *Hierusalem quae in sanguine gaudet.*

Vers 404, Jérôme s'exprime ainsi dans sa traduction du Liber Orsiesii: [17] *Nec discipulos seruos putemus, et illorum tribulatio sit nostra laetitia.*

[12] *In Mic.* 4, 11. PL 25, 1194 D, Vallarsi 485–486.

[13] *In Agg.* 2, 20. PL 25, 1414 B, Val. 770 E.

[14] *In Abd.* PL 25, 1108 B, Val. 374 C–1109 C, Val. 376 B–1111 A, Val. 377 E–1111 B, Val. 378 B.

[15] Voir plus loin note 28 *In Ezech.* 26, 2 (vers 410–414).

[16] G. Morin, *Anecd. Maredsolana*, 3–2, p. 188, 11 ou CC 78, p. 211, 62; p. 192, 20 ou CC p. 215 en bas.

[17] *Pachomiana Latina* éd. A. Boon, Louvain, 1932, p. 113, 1. Outre les textes contre les pharisiens cités par Dom Boon, rappelons Eph. 6, 4 ou Col. 3, 21.

Il arrive au prophète Zacharie [18] vers 406; alors il nous montre Babylone écrasée par l'ange de Dieu, *ut quae prius laetabatur in scelere, aeterno silentio conticescat.* En étudiant Osée,[19] il stigmatise les mauvais prêtres et les hérétiques . . . *decipiant infelices ut peccata populi comedant . . . gaudeant in sceleribus suis.* Puis il note que *in peccatis nostris gaudeant contrariae fortitudines.* (Sur ces puissances adverses, cf. Eph. 6, 12). Et plus loin: les démons ont faim et soif de victimes humaines, *quod deficientibus hostiis, homines sibi cupiant immolari, quorum non solum interitu, sed et cruore laetantur.* Vers 406 également, sur Amos,[20] Jérôme explique comment les hérétiques *gaudent in alienis mortibus, et miserorum sanguine delectantur.*

Vers 408–410, sur Isaïe,[21] Jérôme demande au riche possesseur de palais et de terres qu'il ne peut suffire à habiter et à cultiver, pourquoi *alterius necessitatem tuam facere uoluptatem?* Il parle plus loin du peuple d'Israël rendu comme fou par les misères de la guerre: [22] *Voluptatum et malorum patitur famem et semper cupit malis peiora sociare.* Ou encore Jérôme dépeint les *gigantes* des LXX, symbole des démons: [23] . . . *impleant furorem Domini, gaudentes in aliena iniuria atque laetantes.* Ces géants préfigurent les hérétiques: [24] *Tunc maxime gloriantur quando Ecclesiae contumeliam fecerint.* Dieu explique: [25] *Gigantes ueniunt ut impleant furorem meum gaudentes simul et contumeliam facientes.*

Commentant Ezéchiel, vers 410–414, Jérôme fait ressortir le sens de l'interjection *Euge*, éclat de joie cynique chez l'impie oppresseur: [26] *Insultastis et gauisi estis quia templum et sanctuarium meum hostium ingressione pollutum est . . . Tanta fuit insultandi lasciuia ut cunctus simul populus manibus et pedibus concreparet et ex toto cordis clamaret affectu, eo quod terra Israel esset desolata . . . Exces-*

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[18] *In Zac.* 5, 8. PL 25, 1450 B, Val. 818 E.

[19] *In Osee* 4, 7. PL 25, 849 BC Val. 38–7, 3 col. 874 B Val. 70–13, 1 col. 951 D Val. 144 fin.

[20] *In Amos* 6, 6. PL 25, 1061 D Val. 314 C.

[21] *In Esaiam* 5, 8. PL 24, 80 A Val. 74; CC 73, p. 69, 13.

[22] *Ibid.* 9, 14 col. 132 B Val. 139; CC 132, 56.

[23] *Ibid.* 13, 3 col. 208 A Val. 236; CC 225, 12.

[24] *Ibid.* 13, 3 col. 208 B Val. 237 A; CC p. 226, 34.

[25] *Ibid.* 13, 4 col. 208 D Val. 237; CC 226 en bas.

[26] *In Ezech.* 25, 3. PL 25, 233 B Val. 285–234 A Val. 286 B–234 D Val. 287.

serant modum exsultationis et gaudii . . . Gauisa est [27] *et insultauit . . . In hominibus saeculi,*[28] *quando uiderint hominem sanctum per negligentiam esse prolapsum, et gaudent et exsultant quasi aliorum ruina sua sit resurrectio . . . Insultauit uobis* [29] *inimicus . . . Diabolus insultauit inimicus.*

On voit que Jérôme, qui plaçait la mort des ennemis parmi ses exemples de biens temporels,[30] a volontiers orchestré le thème lyrique de la *Schadenfreude*. Non sans quelque monotonie. Il dictait, et facilement les mêmes clichés se présentaient à sa mémoire en présence du texte de la Bible, qui avait lui-même des répétitions.

S. Augustin nous offre ces deux textes sur les psaumes : le criminel qui fait condamner avec lui un innocent [31] *solatium habet malum alterius*. Et l'on voit Judas et le peuple Juif [32] *cum delectatione malefacere . . . Malefacta delectant.*

Terminons cette brève anthologie de fleurs du mal par S. Grégoire le Grand. On lit dans ses *Morales* [33] (vers 579-vers 585) : *Reprobi flendis sceleribus gaudent.* (Il rappelle ici Prov. 2, 14).[34] *Hinc est quod lacrymarum causas tripudiantes peragunt ; hinc est quod mortis suae negotium ridentes exsequuntur.*

Et ajoutons quelques « anciens » du XVII^e^ siècle, qui ne détonneront nullement après ces classiques et ces Pères.

Dans le *Britannicus* de Racine (1669), act. 2, sc. 8 fin, Narcisse dit gaiement : « Et pour nous rendre heureux, perdons les misérables ». Mathan d'*Athalie* (1691), act. 3, sc. 3, s'est montré charmeur des rois, « et prodigue surtout du sang des misérables ». Dans la fable *Le singe et le chat*, 9, 16, parue en 1679, La Fontaine écrit avec perspicacité : « Nos galants y voyaient double profit à faire : / leur bien premièrement, et puis le mal d'autrui ». Fénelon, *Télé-*

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[27] *Ibid.* 26, 2 col. 240 B Val. 294.

[28] *Ibid.* col. 240 D Val. 295. Voir plus haut note 15 sur Abdias 10 en 396.

[29] *Ibid.* 36, 2 col. 337 D Val. 420–339 C Val. 423 A.

[30] Mon article *Exemples de biens temporels . . .*, dans *Latomus*, 20, 1961, pp. 97–99.

[31] *Enar. in Ps.* 96, 11, prêché à Carthage. PL 37, 1245. CC 39, p. 1363, 46.

[32] *In Ps.* 108, 20 (après 415?). PL 37, 1441. CC 40, p. 1596, 18.

[33] Livre 20 § 37 fin. PL 76, 159 A.

[34] A. Guillaumont traduit dans la Bible de la Pléiade (t. 2, Gallimard, 1959, p. 1353) : « Ceux qui se réjouissent de faire le mal et exultent dans les perversités du mal. »

maque,[35] 1699, présente Bocchoris qui « ne comptait pour rien les hommes . . . ne songeait qu'à sucer le sang des malheureux ». Il parle ailleurs d'une architecture « ornée avec une dépense tirée du sang des misérables ». Pour traduire Jérémie 51, 14 *et super te celeuma cantabitur*, Lemaistre de Saci est plus « cruel » que les modernes traducteurs sur l'hébreu: « Et il jettera des cris de joie en te détruisant » = Crampon, 1923: « et ils pousseront sur toi le cri du triomphe », Bible de Jérusalem 1956: « et on pousserait le cri de guerre contre toi! »

Ligugé (la Vienne), Abbaye Saint-Martin

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[35] *Œuvres*, t. 6, Paris, 1850, liv. 2, p. 410 col. 1; liv. 11, p. 491 col. 2.

Vigiliae Christianae 18 (1964) 57—62; *North-Holland Publishing Co.*

REVIEWS

Willy Rordorf, *Der Sonntag, Geschichte des Ruhe- und Gottesdiensttages im ältesten Christentum* (Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testamentes, 43). Zürich, Zwingli Verlag, 1962. Pp. 336. Pr. Sw. Fr. 26.—.

The author defended this book as a thesis in 1961 at Basel, and considers himself a pupil of O. Cullmann.

It is generally accepted that the Sunday was originally not a day of rest forming a Christian counterpart to the Jewish Sabbath, but a day of Christian worship, which was practised either in the morning or in the evening. The development of the Sunday from a day of worship to a day of rest is not as logical as is often supposed. Rordorf points to the fact that the Emperor Constantine transformed the Sunday into a day of rest, but not in the first place for Christian or religious reasons, but for political ones. In later time the Church adopted this idea of the Sunday as a day of rest, though with another motivation, namely with reference to the Old Testament Sabbath commandment.

As to the Christian worship on Sunday Rordorf stresses the fact that from the very origin of the Church it was celebrated in the form of a eucharistic meal. He sees a close relation between the "day of the Lord" and the "meal of the Lord" (cf. Rev. 1, 10 and 1 Cor. 11, 21). Dealing with the question why this meal is always kept on Sunday he discusses the possibility that the Christian Sunday is rooted in a sectarian Israelite tradition. Several Israelite groups around the beginning of our era counted the fifty days till the Feast of Weeks (or Pentecoste) from the "Sunday" after the Jewish Passover, so that both the first and the last of the fifty days would fall on a Sunday. There were traditions (for instance among the Therapeutes in Egypt) according to which the Crossing of the Red Sea was celebrated, by singing and dancing, during the night just before the fifty days, which is comparable with the Christian Easter vigil (cf. W. Rordorf, *Zum Ursprung des Osterfestes und des Sonntags*, ThZ 18 (1962), p. 177, and J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars*, ²1961, p. 124ff.). But Rordorf regards this Israelite tradition as a parallel with the Christian Easter vigil, and not as its origin.

Continuing his investigation of the origin of the Sunday Rordorf is not prepared to found it on the historicity of Jesus' resurrection on this day. He apparently hesitates to overstress this point. But he still thinks it possible that Jesus—historically speaking—appeared during the meals of the Christians on Sunday evening. In this sense Jesus himself would have instituted the Sunday evening as a time for worship.

This is a hypothesis which in the present writer's opinion brings no solution of the problem. It is not only an oversimplification of the historical question, but what to do with resurrection stories on Sunday morning? If they do not go back – in a direct sense – to historical facts, why did the gospel-authors "put" these stories on Sunday morning? Why is it said in Mark's Gospel that the women came to the tomb "at sunrise" (Mark 16, 2)?

It is true that the Christian Sunday as a day of worship cannot be explained by referring to the Jewish first day of the week. There was, as far as we know, no celebration of this day in the Jewish tradition. On the other hand the first day of the week had some significance for the Jewish people, and for the Jewish priests: it is the day of the creation of the Light. And the Sunday after Passover was the beginning of the harvest. We cannot ignore these facts. They have "preformed" the Christian Easter and Christian Sunday not only in the early Church but already in the gospels themselves. It may be that in John's Gospel there is an indication of the origin of the Sunday: "Eight days afterwards" (John 20, 26). It means eight days after the Resurrection which took place on the first day of the previous week. This is a way to say that the Sunday is originally the eighth day of the week, the eighth day after the Resurrection.

Although Rordorf does not solve the problem of the origin of the Sunday, his materials are excellent. We hope that these materials will be available in Greek and Latin in a future edition (in the series *Traditio Christiana*, Delachaux Niestlé/EVZ-Verlag).

Hilversum, Koningsstraat 9a J. VAN GOUDOEVER

Ragnar Holte, *Béatitude et Sagesse. Saint Augustin et le problème de la fin de l'homme dans la philosophie ancienne*. Paris, Etudes Augustiniennes – Worcester (Mass.), Augustinian Studies, 1962. Pp. 440. Pr. Fr. 46.–.

This book is the French translation of Dr. Holte's eminently important monograph *Beatitudo och Sapientia. Augustinus och de antika filosofskolornas diskussion om människans livsmål* (Stockholm 1958). In his Preface the author observes: « L'édition française que nous présentons ici est pour l'essentiel identique à l'édition suédoise . . . On a fait pourtant quelques modifications de détail, quelques suppressions et additions, ce qui permet de considérer l'ouvrage comme une édition nouvelle, légèrement revue ». On this account we may limit ourselves here to referring to the review of the Swedish edition by Professor C. J. Bleeker which was published in this periodical last year (p. 180), and to expressing our joy that this book has now become accessible to all scholars who are

interested not only in St. Augustine, but also in the history of Christian apologetic literature and its relations to ancient philosophy. Dr. Holte's book should be studied together with Father Daniélou's equally important study *Message évangélique et culture hellénistique* (Tournai, Desclée & Cie, [1961]), which partly covers the same field; in addition, it seems appropriate to draw attention to Dr. Holte's thorough paper *Logos Spermatikos. Christianity and Ancient Philosophy according to St. Justin's Apologies* (Studia Theologica 12 (1958), pp. 109–168). It is thanks to studies of this kind that the investigation of the relations between Greek-Roman philosophy and early Christianity is at last leaving the stage of sweeping statements which has hampered it for such a long time.

Leiden, Witte Singel 91 J. H. WASZINK

Saint Augustine, *The Trinity*. Translated by St. McKenna, C.SS.R. (The Fathers of the Church, 45). Washington, The Catholic University of America Press, 1963. Pp. XVII, 539.

In the introduction to his commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato Calcidius writes: *sola translatione contentus non fui ratus obscuri minimeque illustris exempli simulacrum sine interpretatione translatum in eiusdem aut etiam maioris obscuritatis vitio futurum* (p. 58. 19–22 Wsz.). These words are also applicable to a work like St. Augustine's *De Trinitate*, which from its very nature is full of difficulties. It is, therefore, almost unavoidable that a mere translation makes the meaning of the author still more obscure, even if the translator is master of both the subject-matter and the two languages concerned.

Fr. McKenna shows an acquaintance with the subject-matter, which is surely sufficient – occasionally one is even inclined to call it more than sufficient. Thus the short introduction gives an impression of being more influenced by dogmatic handbooks than by the text of St. Augustine itself.

As to the translator's knowledge of Latin the judgment has unfortunately to be less favourable: too many times he fails to render exactly the meaning of the author. Since it is neither possible nor necessary to offer a complete list of inexactitudes and mistakes, I limit myself to a number of examples.

In I 2 M. renders *perniciosius et inanius* by "in a pernicious and futile manner" (p. 5), thus neglecting the comparative degree which in the context is important. A little further on he translates *suspicando* by "predicating". In I 5 *inierim* is rendered by "I shall enter" (p. 8), whereas it should be: "I would enter". In I 8 the adhortative subjunctives *edisseramus* and *habeamus* are translated by future tenses (p. 12; in general it is to be observed that tenses

and moods are often rendered inexactly). At the end of I 13 *nonnisi* is omitted. At the beginning of I 16 *quidam vaniloqui* is translated by "some Christians". In I 11 Augustine says: *Sic enim dictum est "solus habet immortalitatem", quomodo dictum est "Qui facit mirabilia solus"*. Fr. M. renders just the other way round: "For just as it was said: "who alone has immortality", so it was said: "who alone does wondrous things"" (p. 15). Meanwhile, these inexactitudes do not seriously hurt the meaning of the text.

But many times this meaning is completely obscured by mistranslations. Having stated in I 2 that Holy Scripture employs words from every class of objects in order to form in our mind an idea of God, Augustine continues: *Nam et verbis ex rebus corporalibus sumptis usa est, cum de Deo loqueretur; velut cum ait, "In tegmine alarum tuarum protege me". Et de spiritali creatura multa transtulit.* Fr. M. does not see the relation between the twofold *et*, and translates: "For when it spoke of God it made even use of words taken from material objects, . . . And it has borrowed many things from the spiritual creature", thus disturbing the coherence of the passage.

In I 4 Augustine says, after observing that he will endeavour to give an explanation of the Trinity to his adversaries: *Sed primum secundum auctoritatem Scripturarum sanctarum, utrum ita se fides habeat, demonstrandum.* M.: "But we must first find out by an appeal to the authority of the Sacred Scriptures whether faith is in a position to do so" (p. 7). Clearly the verb *se habere* is misinterpreted here; it is an equivalent of *esse* and Augustine only wants to say that the faith in the Trinity must be demonstrated to be founded on Holy Scripture. After this Augustine continues: *Deinde si voluerit et adjuverit Deus, istis garrulis ratiocinatoribus, elatioribus quam capacioribus, atque ideo morbo periculosiore laborantibus, sic fortasse serviemus ut inveniant aliquid unde dubitare non possint, et ob hoc in eo quod invenire nequiverint, de suis mentibus potius quam de ipsa veritate, vel de nostris disputationibus conquerantur.* M.: "Next, if God is willing and grants us His help, we shall perhaps render such a service to these garrulous disputants – more arrogant than capable and, therefore, suffering from a dangerous disease – that they may discover something which they cannot doubt. But if no such certainty can be found, then they will grumble at their own minds rather than at the truth itself or at our explanations" (p. 7). In the words *et ob hoc, etc.*, the translator detects an opposition to the foregoing part of the sentence ("But if no such certainty can be found"); however, this translation completely destroys the force of Augustine's argument, which runs as follows: "We shall perhaps render such a service to these disputants, that they may discover something which they cannot doubt, and that, therefore, they, because of the fact that they did not find something, will grumble at their own minds rather than . . ."

Revealing his inner attitude Augustine says near to the end of

I 8: *non quia jam acceperim aut perfectus sim, (nam si Paulus apostolus, quanto magis ego longe infra illius pedes jacens non me arbitror apprehendisse?) sed pro modulo meo, si ea quae retro sunt obliviscor, et in anteriora me extendo et secundum intentionem sequor ad palmam supernae vocationis, quantum ejusdem viae peregerim, et quo pervenerim, unde mihi in finem reliquus cursus est, ut aperiam desideratur a me, illis desiderantibus quibus me servire cogit libera caritas.* From the words *sed pro modulo meo* M. translates thus: "but, according to my capacity, I forget what is behind and strain forward to what is before, and in accordance with this plan follow towards the prize of the heavenly call. And when I am asked to make known how much of the journey I have completed, at what point I have arrived and how much of the course still remains before reaching the end, then charity freely compels me to satisfy those who make this request" (p. 12). The translator has completely distorted the phrase. Apparently he has not seen the construction, which is as follows: *sed . . ., si . . . obliviscor et . . . extendo et . . . sequor, desideratur a me ut aperiam, quantum . . . peregerim et quo pervenerim, unde . . . est, illis desiderantibus quibus . . . caritas.*

In I 16 Augustine says: *Quid est ergo "cum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri"? quasi modo non habeat regnum Deus et Pater? Sed quia omnes justos, in quibus nunc regnat ex fide viventibus mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus, perducturus est ad speciem, quam visionem dicit idem apostolus "facie ad faciem", ita dictum est "cum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri", ac si diceretur, cum perduxerit credentes ad contemplationem Dei et Patris.* Fr. M.: "What then is the meaning of "when He shall deliver the kingdom to God and the Father"? Perhaps that God the Father does not have the kingdom at the present time? No, but that the man Christ Jesus, the Mediator between God and men, reigns now among all the just who live by faith, and shall one day bring them to that light, which the same Apostle calls the vision "face to face". Therefore, to say "He shall deliver the kingdom to God and the Father," is the same as saying, when He shall lead the believers to the contemplation of God and the Father" (p. 23). From *sed quia* the sentence is apparently misunderstood, since the translator has not seen that *quia* depends on the following *ita dictum est . . . ac si diceretur, etc.*, and not on the foregoing *Quid est ergo, etc. Quia* must, therefore, be translated by "since". The semicolon before *ita dictum est* in the Migne text should be a comma.

At the beginning of I 20 Augustine states: *Tradet itaque regnum Deo et Patri Dominus noster Jesus Christus, non se inde separato nec Spiritu Sancto, quando perducet credentes ad contemplationem Dei, ubi est finis omnium bonarum actionum et requies sempiterna et gaudium quod numquam auferetur a nobis. Hoc enim signat in eo quod ait "Iterum videbo vos, et gaudebit cor vestrum" etc.* Fr. M.: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, therefore, will deliver the kingdom to

God and the Father, though neither He Himself nor the Holy Spirit are to be kept out of it, when He shall bring the faithful to the contemplation of God. There is the end of all our good deeds, and the eternal rest and joy which will never be taken from us. For He indicates this in the words: "I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice", "*etc.* (p. 29). The interpretation of *non se inde separato nec Spiritu Sancto* as a concessive clause is not correct. Moreover, on account of the rendering of the words *ubi est finis, etc.*, by means of an independent sentence, the sentence which follows ("For He indicates . . .") seems to be no more than an explanation of the immediately foregoing one, which it is not. One should render as follows: "Our Lord . . . will deliver the kingdom to . . . the Father, without keeping Himself and the Holy Spirit out of it, when He shall bring the faithful to the contemplation of God, in which the end of all our good deeds is found".

Treating on the text of *Marc.* 13,32, where Christ speaks of the day and the hour, of which He does not know, St. Augustine states I 23: *Hoc enim nescit, quod nescientes facit, id est, quod non ita sciebat ut tunc discipulis indicaret.* Fr. M. does not see that the Son is also the subject of *facit* and translates: "For He is ignorant of this which makes them ignorant, that is, He did not know it in such a way as to reveal it at that time" (p. 35). One should translate: "For He is ignorant of that, of which He makes (=leaves) people ignorant, that is, what He did not know in such a way as to reveal it to his disciples at that time".

This is only a selection from the translation of the first book. The general impression given by a cursory checking of the other fourteen books is less unfavourable. However, the foregoing observations will be amply sufficient to make the reader vigilant.

Rotterdam, Rosaliastraat 4 J. C. M. VAN WINDEN O.F.M.

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(The inclusion of a book in this list, which contains all books received by the editors, does not guarantee its subsequent review.)

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HELIAND UND THOMASEVANGELIUM

VON

WILLY KROGMANN

In einem 1959 in Aarhus, Kopenhagen, Lund, Upsala und Oslo gehaltenen Vortrag, der noch im gleichen Jahr unter dem Titel „Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas“ [1] gedruckt worden ist, hat G. Quispel Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem Heliand und dem Thomasevangelium aufzeigen wollen. Er ist der Ansicht, daß sowohl der Urheber dieser Sammlung von 114 Aussprüchen Jesu als auch Tatian, dessen Evangelienharmonie der Dichter des altsächsischen Epos benutzte, aus demselben judenchristlichen Evangelium, und zwar wahrscheinlich aus dem Evangelium nach den Hebräern schöpften. Gegen diese Auffassung habe ich mich in meinem 1960 erschienenen Aufsatz „Heliand, Tatian und Thomasevangelium“ [2] gewandt. Darin suchte ich zu zeigen, daß keine der angeblichen Parallelen zwischen dem Heliand und dem Thomasevangelium beweiskräftig ist. Methodisch habe ich vor allem beanstandet, daß die Eigenart der altsächsischen Dichtung nicht berücksichtigt worden ist. Jetzt hat Quispel in seinem 1962 in dieser Zeitschrift veröffentlichten Aufsatz „Der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium“ [3] seine These erneut vertreten. Der Titel ist allerdings insofern irreführend, als das Verhältnis zwischen dem Heliand und dem Thomasevangelium nur im vierten Abschnitt behandelt wird. Die drei vorhergehenden Kapitel untersuchen Übereinstimmungen des altsächsischen Epos mit dem altlateinischen Diatesseron, den orientalischen Evangelienharmonien und der syrischen Tradition. Auf sie werde ich in dieser Stellungnahme zu Quispels neuem Aufsatz nicht eingehen. Einerseits stimme ich in dieser Hinsicht teilweise mit ihm überein, da ich nach dem

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[1] New Testament Studies V (1959), S. 276–90.
[2] Z. N. W. 41, S. 255–68.
[3] Vol. XVI, S. 121–53.

Vorgang von C. W. M. Grein[4], William Foerste [5] und W. Henss [6] schon 1955 in meinem Aufsatz „Eine fremde Fitte im Heliand“ [7] festgestellt habe, daß dem altsächsischen Dichter Tatians Diatesseron nicht im Codex Fuldensis vorgelegen hat, wie lange angenommen worden ist. Anderseits bedarf die Frage nach der vom Helianddichter herangezogenen Fassung der Evangelienharmonie einer eigenen Untersuchung. In ihr werden auch Quispels Zusammenstellungen zu prüfen sein, die nach den bereits in seinem Vortrag angeführten und von mir schon besprochenen Beispielen und einer flüchtigen Durchsicht allerdings dieselben methodischen Schwächen zeigen wie seine Parallelen zwischen dem Heliand und dem Thomasevangelium.[8] Hier beschränke ich mich auf das Wenige, was er in dieser Beziehung neu beigebracht hat. Außerdem gehe ich auf das kurze Nachwort ein, das J. A. Huisman beigesteuert hat. Seiner Meinung nach ist die von Quispel angeschnittene Frage nach meiner Stellungnahme noch keineswegs für die Germanistik erledigt. Er stimmt mir zwar zu, wenn ich eine Reihe von

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[4] Die Quellen des Heliand. Nebst einem Anhang: Tatians Evangelienharmonie herausgegeben nach dem Codex Cassellanus (Heliand–Studien I), Cassel 1869, S. 129.

[5] Otfrids literarisches Verhältnis zum Heliand. Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung 71/73 (1950), S. 40ff., bes. S. 40, Anm. 4.

[6] Zur Quellenfrage im Heliand und ahd. Tatian. Ebda. 77 (1954), S. 1ff.

[7] Beiträge zur altsächsischen Sprache und Dichtung 1. Ebda. 78, S. 1ff.

[8] Nur an einem weiteren Beispiel möchte ich hier noch verdeutlichen. wie vorsichtig wir bei Quispels Parallelen sein müssen. Vers 3071[b] f. sagt Christus im Heliand zu Petrus:

ni mugun uuid them thinon suitheon crafte anthebbean helliportun.

Hier weicht der Dichter unverkennbar von Mt 16,19 ab, wo wir lesen: *et portae inferi non praevalebunt adversus eam (ecclesiam meam).* Quispel liest aus den altsächsischen Versen aber zu Unrecht heraus, dass die Pforten der Hölle Petrus nicht überwältigen werden, und vergleicht das niederländische Diatesseron von Stuttgart mit der Lesart *tjegen di* und Ephrems Kommentar, T[c]: *et portae inferi te non superabunt.* Im Heliand heisst *anthebbian* jedoch „standhalten“. Stapel, dessen Übersetzung Quispel anführt, schreibt ganz richtig: „wider deine starke Kraft können sich die Pforten der Hölle nicht halten“. Vgl. noch, was ich zur Stelle in meinem soeben erschienenen Buch „Absicht oder Willkür im Aufbau des Heliand“ (Deutsches Bibel–Archiv. Abhandlungen und Vorträge 1), Hamburg 1964, S. 93f. bemerkt habe.

Berührungen des altsächsischen Epos mit dem Thomasevangelium aus der germanischen Sitte und den Erfordernissen des germanischen Alliterationsverses erkläre, glaubt aber, daß dies nicht überall möglich ist.

Nach Quispels Angaben steht im Heliand Vers 1451a statt *Diliges proximum tuum* Mt 5, 43:

frahon is friunda gehuuane.[9]

Er schreibt: „Daß hier ‚Freund' für ‚Nächster' benutzt wird, kann nicht zufällig sein: T^{nl} liest auch: *du sout liefhebben dinen vrint*, und T^{ven}: *ama lo to amigo*. Weil auch das persische Diatesseron so liest (3,50: *ama il tuo compagno*), scheint die Variante für Tatian gesichert zu sein. Leloir[10] nimmt an, daß Tatian regelmäßig *propinquus* statt *proximus* gelesen hat. Ist es unmöglich, daß die judenchristliche Quelle des Thomasevangeliums ihn dazu veranlaßt hat? Dies liest nämlich, 1,25:

> Liebe *(~ ἀγαπήσεις)* deinen Bruder *(~ τὸν πλησίον σου)* wie deine Seele *(~ ὡς σεαυτόν)*.

Das findet seine Entsprechung an einer anderen Stelle des persischen Diatesserons (Messina p. 225): *ama e onora il tuo compagno come l'anima tua*. Man würde doch sagen, daß dies genügt, um die Übereinstimmungen der Thomastradition mit Tatian festzustellen. Dann kann aber auch die Verwendung von ‚Freund' statt ‚Nächster' im Heliand nicht zufällig sein".

Diese Beweisführung ist kennzeichnend für das Vorgehen Quispels. Ganz abgesehen davon, daß *frāhon* „erfreuen" M, wofür C besser *friehan = friohan* „lieben" liest, *friunda* wegen des gleichen Anlauts angezogen hat, entzieht ihr die Tatsache den Boden, daß der von ihm angeführte Anvers gar nicht *Diliges proximum tuum* entspricht. Im Heliand heißt es nämlich Vers 1446bff.:

Oc is an them euue giscriƀan
uuaron uuordon, so gi uuitun alla,
that man is naiston niudlico scal
minnion an is muode, uuesan is magon hold,

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[9] „jeden seiner Freunde erfreuen."

[10] L. Leloir, Le Diatesseron de Tatian, L'Orient Syrien 1 (1956), S. 322.

gadulinguon guod endi uuesan is geƀa mildi,
friehan is friundo gihuena.[11]

Mt 5,43 wird also durch *that man is naiston* [*nahiston* M] *niudlico scal | minnion an is muode* wiedergegeben und *proximum* wörtlich durch *nāhiston* übersetzt. *friehan* [*frāhon* M] *is friundo gihuena* ist wie das übrige Variation, die durch den epischen Stil bedingt ist.

Verkannt hat Quispel den Bezug auch an einer anderen Stelle. Ihmzufolge entsprechen *Considerate lilia agri, quomodo crescunt* Mt 6, 28 im Heliand die Verse 1679ᵇff.:

. . . thiu uurt . . .
thiu hir an felde stet fagaro gigeruuit,
lilli mid so lioƀlicu bluomen.[12]

Er weist darauf hin, daß wie hier Vers 1680 auch Tᵗˡ mit *de lilien die wassen in den velde* in der Konstruktion abweicht. Er will allerdings nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten, daß der Relativsatz im Heliand auf Tatian zurückgehe, doch findet er auch im Logion 36 des Thomasevangeliums in der griechischen Fassung van Pap. Ox. 655: *τῶν κρίνων ἅτινα αὐξάνει.*

In Wirklichkeit wird Mt 6, 28 im Heliand durch Vers 1672ᵇf. wiedergegeben, während die von Quispel angezogenen Verse auf Mt 6,29 beruhen. Mt 6,28f. lauten: *Considerate lilia agri, quomodo crescunt. Dico autem vobis, quoniam nec Salomon in omni gloria sua coopertus est sicut unum ex istis.* Hieraus hat der altsächsische Dichter Vers 1671ᵇ–1682ᵃ entwickelt:

Oc mugun gi an iuuuon hugie marcon
uueros umbi iuuua giuuadi, huo thar [*thie* M] *uurti sind*
fagaro gifratahod the hier an felde stat,

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11 „Auch ist in dem Gesetz geschrieben
mit wahren Worten, wie ihre alle wisst,
dass man seinen Nächsten sehr lieben soll
in seinem Sinn, seinen Verwandten hold sein,
seinen Genossen gut und freigebig sein soll mit seiner Gabe,
lieben jeden seiner Freunde."

12 „. . . die Pflanze . . . ,
die hier auf dem Felde steht schön geschmückt,
die Lilie mit so lieblichen Blüten."

berethlico gibloit: ni mohta thie burgo uuard,
Salomon thie cuning, thie haƀda sinc mikil,
methomhorđes mest thero thie gio man ehti,
uuelono giuunnan endi allaro giuuadio cust:
thoh ni mohta hie an is liƀa, thoh hie haƀdi alles theses landes giuuald,
auuinnan sulic giuuadi so thiu uurt haƀit
thiu hir an felde stet fagaro gigeruuit,
lilli mid so lioƀlicu bluomen: ina uuadit thie landes uualdand
her fan heƀanes uuange.[13]

In diesem Falle wird der Sachverhalt jedoch nicht wesentlich verändert. Auch in Vers 1673 finden wir den Relativsatz: *the hier an felde stat.* Quispels Zweifel, ob er wirklich aus dem Diatesseron Tatians stamme, sind aber nur zu berechtigt. Die Genetivkonstruktion konnte unabhängig voneinander an verschiedenen Stellen durch einen Relativsatz ersetzt werden. Im Heliand war eine Trennung von *wurt* und *feld* sowohl in Vers 1672ᵇf. als auch in Vers 1679ᵇf. schon deshalb geboten, weil beide Wörter nicht miteinander staben.

Schließlich hebt Quispel aus dem von mir schon in meinem früheren Aufsatz behandelten Gleichnis vom Unkraut unter dem Weizen zusätzlich noch zwei angebliche Berührungen zwischen dem Heliand und dem Thomasevangelium hervor.

Im Epos heißt es Vers 2558ᵇff.:

quathun that sia thar uueldin gangan tuo

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13 „Auch könnt ihr in eurem Sinn bemerken,
ihr Männer, im Vergleich zu euren Gewändern, wie schön die Pflanzen geschmückt sind, die hier auf dem Felde stehen,
herrlich erblüht: nicht konnte der Burgherr,
Salomo der König, der einen grossen Schatz,
den grössten Hort an Kostbarkeiten, den je ein Mensch besass,
die meisten Reichtümer gewonnen hatte und das Schönste unter allen Gewändern,
nicht konnte er in seinem Leben, obgleich er Gewalt über das ganze Land hatte,
ein solches Gewand erlangen, wie es die Pflanze hat,
die hier auf dem Felde steht schön geschmückt,
die Lilie mit so lieblichen Blüten: sie kleidet der Herr der Welt,
der hohe in des Himmels Aue."

cuman mid craftu endi losian that crud thanan,
halon it mid iro handon.[14]

Diesen Versen entspricht Mt 13,28: *Vis, imus, et colligimus ea.* Aus T^{nl} *(trekken ut)*, T^{ven}, T^{p}, T^{a} und Syr^{sc} entnimmt Quispel jedoch, daß das Diatesseron Tatians „herausziehen" statt *colligere* < *συλλέγειν* bot, und das findet er außer im Heliand auch im Thomasevangelium, wo 1,57 steht: Der Mann ließ sie nicht den Lolch ausreißen. *lōsian* heißt aber gar nicht „herausreißen", wie Wilhelm Stapel [15] ungenau übersetzt, sondern, was *thanan* noch verdeutlicht, „wegnehmen". Deshalb wird es auch durch *halon* „holen, wegbringen" variiert.

Ohne Gewicht ist auch die zweite Stelle. Vers 3829^{b}ff. lesen wir im Heliand:

Than uuellia ik iu te uuaron, quathie,
selbo seggian that gi im sin gebat,
uueroldherren is giuuunst, endi uualdand gode
selliat that thar sin ist: that sculun iuuua seolun uuesan,
gumono gestos.[16]

Hier fällt Quispel die Wiederholung *gebat – selliat* auf, da es Mt 22, 21 heißt: *Reddite ergo quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae sunt dei deo.* Entsprechungen findet er jedoch T^{tos} *(rendete ... rendete)*, T^{c} *(date ... reddite)*, T^{p} *(date ... date)* und auch im Thomasevangelium 1,100 *(Gebt, was [des] Kaisers ist, [dem] Kaiser. Gebt, was Gottes ist, Gott.)*. Die Wiederholung des Verbums vor dem zweiten Relativsatz in verschiedenen Texten läßt aber keineswegs auf eine gemeinsame Quelle schließen. Ähnlich wie beim Ersatz des Genetivs durch einen Relativsatz an der vorhin besprochenen Stelle konnten mehrere Schreiber unabhängig voneinander ändern. Im Heliand war die Ergänzung wieder durch

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14 „sie sagten, dass sie hingehen wollten,
mit einer Menge kommen und das Unkraut wegnehmen,
wegbringen mit ihren Händen."

15 Der Heliand. Übertragen, München 1953.

16 „Dann will ich euch der Wahrheit gemäss, sprach er,
selber sagen, dass ihr ihm das Seine gebt,
dem Weltherrn seinen Tribut und dem Herrgott
gebt, was das Seine ist: das sind eure Seelen,
die Seelen der Menschen."

den epischen Stil bedingt. Überdies lieferte *selliat* einen Stabreim zu *sīn* im Anvers.

Nachdem sich somit auch das letzte Argument Quispels als bedeutungslos erwiesen hat, wende ich mich den Einwänden Huismans zu.

In Vers 2403b sagt der Helianddichter von dem Korn, das auf den Weg fiel:

endi fuglos alasun.[17]

Mt 13,4 entspricht: *et venerunt volucres et comederunt ea*, im Thomasevangelium: *the birds came, they gathered them.* Nach Quispel stimmen Heliand und Thomasevangelium darin überein, daß die Vögel die Samen nicht auffressen, sondern sammeln. Demgegenüber hatte ich darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß der altsächsische Dichter gar nicht *frātun* „fraßen" schreiben konnte. Da in derselben Langzeile schon *folkes*, *fard* und *fuglos* auf *f* stabten, mußte die stablose vierte Hebung anders anlauten. Huisman gibt zu, daß *frātun* unmöglich war, behauptet aber, daß jedes andere nicht mit *f* anlautende Verbum brauchbar gewesen wäre und der Dichter nicht gerade *ālāsun* hätte einsetzen müssen. Dieser Einwurf trifft jedoch nicht. Um seine Vorlage sinngemäß wiederzugeben, benötigte jener ein Verbum, das „fressen" oder „aufpicken" bedeutete. Ich glaube nicht, daß es in diesem Falle eine große Auswahl gab.

Nicht beipflichten kann ich Huisman auch an der zweiten von ihm erwähnten Stelle, wo Christus Vers 2628b ff. vom Himmelreich sagt:

Oc ist im that uuerc gilik
that man an seo innan segina uuirpit,
fisknett an fluot.[18]

Demgegenüber lautet Mt 13,47: *Iterum simile est regnum caelorum sagenae missae in mare.* Hier hatte Quispel darauf hingewiesen, daß Clemens von Alexandria Stromateis VI. XI 95,9 nur von einem Fischer spricht, und vermutet, daß Gott selbst gemeint sei.

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17 „und die Vögel lasen auf."

18 „Auch gleicht ihm das Tun,
dass man in die See ein Netz wirft,
ein Fischnetz in die Flut."

Daß Clemens nicht der Urheber der von ihm mitgeteilten Fassung war, lehrte ihn außer dem Heliand das Thomasevangelium, in dem es Logion 8 heißt: *And he said: man is like a wise fisherman, who cast his net into the sea.* Den Ersatz von *regnum caelorum* durch den Menschen oder vielleicht den Menschensohn hielt er für sekundär. Berichtigt habe ich, daß *man* in Vers 2629 nicht „ein Mann" bedeutet, sondern das Pronomen indefinitum „man" ist. Huisman glaubt, daß ich diesem altsächsischen Wort eine unmögliche oder doch im Zusammenhang unwahrscheinliche Bedeutung zuwiese. „Setzt man", bemerkt er, „hier das abgeschwächte ‚man' ein, so ist die geschaute Bildhaftigkeit der Parabel dahin. Alle Übersetzer, von Simrock bis Genzmer, geben denn auch ‚ein Mann'. Die Betonung *that mán an séo innan* ist metrisch einwandfrei (vgl. V. 2640 *thes uuities uuidarlaga*). Wenn man auch *ēn man* erwartet (vgl. V. 2389 *ēn erl*), so ist zu bedenken, daß das altertümliche Fehlen des Artikels das Substantiv hervorheben kann (vgl. V. 2609 *erl mid is orun*; V. 2654 *uuif undar thesemu uuerode*)".

Huisman beachtet nicht, daß die Langzeile 2629

that man an séo innan ségina uuírpit

gelesen werden muß. Würde *man* in der ersten Hebung stehen, so hätte es und nicht oder doch nicht nur *seo* mit *segina* staben müssen. Da es nicht alliteriert, ist es unbetont. Hätte der Dichter wirklich „ein Mann" sagen wollen, so hätte er nur *seg* statt *man* zu schreiben brauchen. Daß er dies nicht getan hat, spricht entscheidend gegen die Auffassung Huismans und Quispels. Umsonst schreibt daher auch dieser jetzt unter deutlichem Bezug auf jenen über meine Feststellung, daß *man* Pronomen indefinitum sei: „So lange zuständige Germanisten ihm das bestreiten, müssen wir ... um Beweise fragen. Warum doch so apodiktisch: as. *man* bedeutet ja ‚Mensch, Mann, Dienstmann'. Und setzt die Anwendung des Gleichnisses auf den einen Gott nicht voraus, daß im Gleichnis einer, nicht ‚man' gemeint ist? Ist es, nachdem wir die Parallele in Ephrems Kommentar (T^p), Aphraat, Klemens Alexandrinus und ‚Thomas' aufgezeigt haben, wirklich nicht erlaubt zu vermuten, daß der Dichter des Heliand in seinem lateinischen Diatesseron las: *simile est regnum caelorum homini mittenti sagenam in mare?*" Die Antwort ergibt sich unzweideutig aus dem metrischen Befund. Mit vollem Recht übersetzte denn auch schon Paul Piper in seiner

Ausgabe [19] des Heliand Vers 2628ᵇf.: „auch entspricht ihm die Handlung, wenn man . . .". Ebenso hat bereits Edward H. Sehrt in seinem „Vollständigen Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur Altsächsischen Genesis" [20] *man* in Vers 2629 richtig zu *„man(n)* 4. pron. indef. im Nom. mit Singular des Verbs" gestellt.

Übergehen kann ich, was Huisman noch über meine Auffassung von *an* in Vers 2399 schreibt. Ich habe nur auf die Möglichkeit hingewiesen, daß es nicht nur „auf", sondern auch „an" bedeuten könne, es selbst aber an dieser Stelle durch „auf" übersetzt. Dies hebt Huisman auch ausdrücklich hervor.

Am Schluß seines Nachworts fordert er, daß man Quispels Theorie, wenn man ihr schon auf Grund seiner bisherigen Veröffentlichungen nicht beitreten könne, wenigstens als Arbeitshypothese gelten lassen möge. Den Nutzen einer solchen Stellungnahme sehe ich nicht ein. Da Quispels These sich meines Erachtens nicht bewährt hat, ist sie aufzugeben.

Hamburg 13, Isestraße 88

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[19] Die Altsächsische Bibeldichtung (Heliand und Genesis). Erster Teil: Text (Denkmäler der Älteren deutschen Litteratur 1. Band), Stuttgart 1897, S. 210.

[20] Hesperia. Schriften zur germanischen Philologie Nr. 14, Göttingen 1925, S. 359–362.

Vigiliae Christianae 18 (1964) 74–84; *North-Holland Publishing Co.*

LES SOURCES DE LA CONCEPTION MILITAIRE DE L'EGLISE EN 1 CLÉMENT 37

PAR

A. JAUBERT

C'est un passage bien connu que celui où Clément de Rome compare la discipline de la communauté chrétienne à celle d'une armée: « Considérons les soldats qui servent sous nos gouvernants; avec quelle discipline, quelle docilité, quelle soumission ils accomplissent les tâches qui leur ont été assignées » (1 Clém 37, 2). Discipline, docilité, soumission, ces qualités caractéristiques du soldat, sont aussi celles que Clément réclame des membres de la communauté chrétienne de Corinthe révoltés contre leurs presbytres. La comparaison militaire fait partie des multiples exemples par lesquels Clément illustre le thème de l'obéissance nécessaire dans l'Eglise; elle a suscité nombre de commentaires.

L'explication la plus générale est que Clément trahit en ce passage son admiration pour la discipline de l'armée romaine comme le montrerait l'allusion à « *nos* gouvernants ». A s'en tenir là, on verrait dans l'image utilisée par Clément le simple transfert d'une conception militaire romaine à la communauté chrétienne; cette conception porterait alors un cachet d'origine indubitablement romain.

Cependant sous l'influence de travaux comme ceux de Knopf ou de Sanders les spécialistes sont maintenant beaucoup plus sensibles aux inspirations d'ordre moral ou philosophique qui se laissent déceler dans ce passage de la Prima Clementis. La comparaison des devoirs de la vie avec ceux d'un soldat qui obéit à Dieu constitue un thème connu, qui a été utilisé par le stoïcisme, mais qui paraît plus simplement appartenir à la prédication commune de la philosophie populaire.

Disons tout de suite que cette dernière explication, qui n'élimine pas complètement la première, nous paraît pertinente; mais notre propos ici est de rechercher si les parallélismes proposés épuisent la compréhension du texte de Clément, et si nous ne méconnaissons pas les racines juives d'une telle conception militaire.

Il faut citer largement le morceau en question. Après un développement sur la gloire de Jésus-Christ grand prêtre, Clément cite — en dépendance de l'Epître aux Hébreux — deux passages messianiques des psaumes:

[36, 4] « Mais au sujet de son Fils le Maître a parlé ainsi: « Tu es mon Fils; moi aujourd'hui je t'ai engendré; demande-moi et je te donnerai les nations en héritage et en possession les extrémités de la terre ». [5] Et à nouveau il lui dit: « Assieds-toi à ma droite jusqu'à ce que je fasse de tes ennemis l'escabeau de tes pieds ». [6] Quels sont donc les ennemis? Ce sont les méchants et ceux qui s'opposent à Sa volonté.

[37, 1] Servons donc en soldats, frères, de tout notre effort, sous Ses ordres irréprochables. [2] Considérons les soldats qui servent sous nos gouvernants, avec quelle discipline, quelle docilité, quelle soumission ils accomplissent les tâches qui leur ont été assignées. [3] Tous ne sont pas commandants en chef, ni chefs de mille, ni chefs de cent, ni chefs de cinquante, ni ainsi de suite, mais chacun à son rang particulier exécute ce qui a été prescrit par le roi ou par les gouvernants. [4] Les grands ne peuvent être sans les petits ni les petits sans les grands; en toutes choses il existe un certain mélange et c'est en cela que consiste l'utilité. [5] Prenons notre corps; la tête n'est rien sans les pieds, ni de même les pieds sans la tête; les plus petits membres de notre corps sont nécessaires et utiles au corps entier; au contraire tous conspirent et servent, par une subordination unanime, à sauver le corps entier.

[38, 1] Qu'il soit donc sauvé en entier le corps que nous formons en Jésus-Christ, et que chacun se subordonne à son prochain selon la place que lui confère le don qu'il a reçu *(καθὼς ἐτέθη ἐν τῷ χαρίσματι αὐτοῦ)*».

Il est facile de repérer en ce passage des thèmes bien connus de la littérature hellénistique. Après la comparaison militaire Clément insiste sur le « mélange » *(σύγκρασις)* nécessaire des petits et des grands. L'idée se trouve dans Sophocle, Euripide, Platon [1]; elle devait appartenir au fond commun de la sagesse populaire.

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[1] Sophocle, *Ajax* 158–161; Euripide, *Tragédies*, éd. Nauck (Bibl. Teubner), t. 3, frag. n° 21; Platon, *Lois* X 902 E. Voir R. Knopf, *Der erste Clemensbrief* in *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Lietzmann), Ergänzungsband, Tübingen 1920, sur 1 Clém 37; L. Sanders, *L'hellénisme de Saint Clément de Rome et le paulinisme*, Louvain 1943, p. 84.

L'apologue du corps et des membres est un véritable lieu commun dont l'illustration la plus célèbre est celle de la fable d'Esope; déjà l'apôtre Paul l'avait appliqué à l'Eglise. On notera le thème stoïcien de la « conspiration » *(συμπνεῖ)* en 37,5 ou celui des membres « les plus petits » [2]. Comme le souligne Sanders, les notions d'utilité et de salut appliquées à la cité devaient être courantes dans la prédication morale.[3] On a pu dire de ce texte qu'il offrait « une collection de thèmes stoïciens » [4].

En ce qui concerne notre objet propre, c'est à dire les images d'ordre militaire, la critique aligne un certain nombre de parallèles. Dès l'Apologie de Socrate est attestée la comparaison du soldat qui demeure à son poste avec le philosophe qui remplit sa mission. « Quiconque occupe un poste . . . a pour devoir d'y demeurer ferme, quel que soit le danger ». Lorsque Socrate était soldat il a risqué sa vie pour demeurer ferme à son poste sous l'ordre de ses chefs, et maintenant il déserterait la tâche que lui assigne la divinité! (Apol. 28 b–e). La même image est utilisée par Sénèque et par Epictète. Il faut supporter sans se plaindre, dit Sénèque, « acquiescer à la nature »; « c'est un mauvais soldat celui qui suit son général avec des gémissements» (Epître 107, 9). Pour Epictète le sage devrait faire à Dieu le même serment que les soldats font à César. « Et quel sera votre serment? de ne pas désobéir, de ne pas murmurer, de ne vous plaindre de rien de ce que Dieu vous donnera en partage, de faire et de supporter de plein gré tout ce que vous imposera la nécessité » (Diss. I 14, 15–16). Un autre passage des Entretiens concerne la diversité des tâches de la vie qui ressemble à une expédition militaire: « l'un doit être sentinelle, l'autre éclaireur, l'autre combattant. Il n'est ni possible ni avantageux que tous restent dans le même endroit »; chacun doit être prêt à obéir au moindre signe du général (Diss. III 24, 31–35).[5]

[2] Cf. M. Spanneut, *Le Stoïcisme des Pères de l'Eglise*, Paris 1957, p. 412 *(conspiration)*, p. 372 (les plus petites choses); J. Thierry, Note sur *τὰ ἐλάχιστα τῶν ζώων* au chapitre 20 de la Prima Clementis, *Vig. Christ.* 14 (1960) p. 235–244.

[3] Sanders, ibid., p. 88–89.

[4] Spanneut, ibid., p. 389, les énumère ainsi: « service militaire, utilité, conservation du corps, mélange pour le bien de l'ensemble ».

[5] Une image, assez proche, du traité pseudo-aristotélicien du *Monde* compare l'ordre de la création avec ce qui se passe dans un camp militaire (*De Mundo* 399 ab).

On pouvait donc citer en exemple l'ordre qui régnait dans l'armée et qui s'accordait avec la diversité des fonctions; ou bien prendre comme modèle l'obéissance du soldat qui ne déserterait pas le poste que lui avaient assigné ses chefs. Ces comparaisons se rapportent à la tâche à accomplir dans la vie. Pour cerner de plus près les préoccupations d'une communauté religieuse la critique ajoute parfois les métaphores utilisées dans des associations cultuelles — mais qui restent à vrai dire à l'état de simples allusions: un initié aux mystères d'Isis ou à ceux de Mithra pouvait être considéré comme un soldat de la divinité.[6]

En ce qui concerne Clément on est mieux inspiré en rappelant les passages pauliniens sur le chrétien-soldat: « Combats le bon combat » (1 Tim 1, 18); « Prends ta part de souffrances en bon soldat du Christ Jésus; dans le métier des armes, personne ne s'encombre des affaires de la vie civile, afin de donner satisfaction à celui qui l'a enrôlé » (2 Tim 2, 3–4).[7] Mais d'où venaient ces comparaisons pauliniennes elles-mêmes, et n'étaient-elles pas déjà acclimatées dans le judaïsme hellénistique? On cite trop rarement des textes comme ceux du Testament de Job ou du 4ème livre des Maccabées. Job persistait à espérer en Dieu malgré ses malheurs, et Baldad s'étonne que Dieu, comparé à un roi, « déshonore un soldat qui lui fait si belle escorte ».[8] En 4 Maccabées les martyrs doivent livrer en soldats le combat de la piété; c'est là un « service militaire noble et sacré » (9, 24); en plusieurs passages les métaphores militaires alternent avec les métaphores athlétiques.[9]

Clément a donc pu prendre son bien dans un judaïsme hellénisé qui exprimait déjà en termes militaires la notion de fidélité religieuse. Cependant la mention des martyrs maccabéens oriente

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[6] Apulée, *Métamorphoses*, XI 14.15.24 « Inscris-toi dans notre sainte milice ». Tertullien, *De Corona* 15 « soldat de Mithra ». A. Ziegler cherche des rapprochements du côté de la langue des jeux et spécialement des jeux donnés en l'honneur du culte de César, *Neue Studien zum ersten Klemensbrief*, München 1958, p. 37.

[7] En Eph 6, 10 sv. (cf. 2 Cor 10, 3–4), les images pauliniennes concernent la guerre spirituelle contre les forces de ténèbres, perspective que ne développe pas Clément.

[8] *Testament de Job* 37 (*Texts and Studies* V, 1; Apocrypha Anecdota II, Cambridge 1897, éd. James–Robinson).

[9] Voir 16, 14 (image militaire); 9, 23; 16, 16; 17, 11–16 (métaphores athlétiques).

sur une autre piste, puisqu'elle rappelle qu'il existait une conception guerrière du peuple juif, traditionnelle dans la Bible, développée aux temps maccabéens et maintenue par la force des espérances messianiques et du courant zélote. Cette conception pouvait avoir tendance à se transposer.[10] Le texte de Clément prend précisément sa source dans deux passages des psaumes qui visaient la guerre messianique eschatologique. Nous sommes amenés à rechercher si Clément ne dépend pas également d'influences proprement juives.

Les passages messianiques cités par Clément au point de départ de sa comparaison militaire s'inspirent visiblement du choix préalable de l'Epître aux Hébreux : « Tu es mon Fils ; moi aujourd'hui je t'ai engendré » (Ps 2, 7 ; cf. Héb 1, 5) ; « Assieds-toi à ma droite jusqu'à ce que je fasse de tes ennemis l'escabeau de tes pieds » (Ps 110, 1 ; cf. Héb 1, 13). Cependant Clément cite et utilise ces textes de manière différente. Au verset 7 du psaume 2 il ajoute le verset 8 : « Demande-moi et je te donnerai les nations en héritage et en possession les extrémités de la terre » ; d'autre part il met bout à bout Ps 2, 7–8 et Ps 110, 1 qui étaient disjoints dans l'Epître aux Hébreux ; il veut en effet illustrer une autre perspective, non plus la supériorité du Christ sur les anges, mais les aspects guerriers des temps messianiques, c'est à dire finalement la condition militaire du chrétien.

« Quels sont les ennemis ? Les méchants et ceux qui s'opposent à Sa volonté ». Selon une tendance juive, Clément remplace volontiers le nom de Dieu par un pronom.[11] Clément est en dépendance du thème biblique du combat de Dieu contre ses adversaires, thème bien représenté dans des écrits juifs tardifs. Citons le Règlement de Combat découvert à Qumrân, ou bien un fragment du livre de la Sagesse qui, s'inspirant d'Isaïe 42, 13 et 59, 17, décrit le Seigneur sous les traits d'un guerrier qui frappera les impies et les insensés (Sag 5, 14–23). Cependant Clément effleure seulement le thème des adversaires de Dieu. Ce qui l'intéresse en effet dans sa perspective, c'est la notion d'obéissance ; obéissance à Dieu, mais surtout, découlant de cette obéissance, la subordination mutuelle des membres de la communauté chrétienne.

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[10] Dans Philon par exemple elle s'allégorise en s'appliquant au combat de l'âme contre les passions (cf. *Migration d'Abraham* § 62–63).

[11] Cf. 1 Mac 2, 61. Voir 1 Clém 2, 8 ; 19, 1...

Une telle subordination mutuelle est déjà réclamée en Eph 5, 21 et en 1 Pi 5, 5; elle appartient donc à l'héritage du christianisme avant Clément.[12] Mais c'est la première fois, croyons-nous, que dans un écrit chrétien elle est rattachée à un idéal de type militaire. Or il existe des parallèles juifs à un tel idéal de subordination communautaire. A titre d'analogie en effet on peut citer l'Ecrit de Damas et le rouleau de la Règle découvert à Qumrân.[13] Les communautés qui s'expriment dans ces documents étaient organisées de manière militaire et tous les membres devaient y être soumis les uns aux autres: « Que tout homme d'Israël, dit la Règle, connaisse bien son poste dans la communauté de Dieu, selon le Conseil éternel; et que nul ne descende au-dessous de son poste et que nul ne s'élève au dessus de la place que lui assigne son lot » (1QS 2, 21–23). Les postes et les places étaient attribués selon « l'esprit » de chacun, c'est à dire selon son intelligence et ses œuvres (cf. 1QS 5, 21–24). Le critère hiérarchique de la communauté était donc un critère d'ordre religieux qui réclamait un véritable discernement des esprits (cf. 1QS 6, 17–18; 9, 14–15). Il fallait que chacun occupât le poste que lui destinait la décision éternelle de Dieu. « Chacun devait obéir à son prochain, le plus petit au plus grand », c'est à dire l'inférieur au supérieur (1QS 5, 23); nul ne refuserait obéissance à qui était inscrit avant lui (1QS 6, 26).

D'après l'Ecrit de Damas l'examen d'entrée dans la communauté portait non seulement sur l'intelligence et les œuvres, mais sur « la force, la puissance et les biens » du candidat; alors « on l'inscrivait à sa place selon son lot » (CD 13, 11). Le rôle de chacun paraît ici conditionné par les dons qu'il possède, que ces dons soient d'ordre spirituel, psychologique, physique ou matériel. C'est là une curieuse analogie avec notre passage de Clément où chacun doit « se subordonner à son prochain selon son don *(χάρισμα)* »; ce don, qui n'a rien de spécialement « charismatique », consiste, d'après le verset suivant, en biens matériels ou spirituels: force, richesse, sagesse, humilité, continence (1 Clém 38, 2).

Analogie ne signifie pas dépendance.[14] Mais s'il est attesté que des communautés juives ont vécu un idéal religieux de type

[12] Ignace d'Antioche le répètera en Magn 13, 2.

[13] Le rapprochement avec la Règle a déjà été suggéré par J. Colson à propos de 1 Clém 40 (*Clément de Rome*, Ed. ouvrières, Paris 1960, p. 20).

[14] Il n'existe en particulier aucune ressemblance d'expression.

militaire, avec un sens très fort de la subordination mutuelle, on peut se demander si l'on n'attribue pas à une influence stoïcienne plus qu'il ne lui revient. Les philosophes stoïciens n'étaient pas organisés en communautés, et la fondamentale idée stoïcienne de soumission à la « nécessité » et à la nature est très étrangère à la pensée de Clément qui croit à un Dieu personnel.

Abordons maintenant l'énumération hiérarchique de 1 Clém 37, 3 qui est au cœur de la comparaison militaire: « Tous ne sont pas *ἔπαρχοι* (préfets ou gouverneurs), ni *χιλίαρχοι* (chefs de mille hommes ou tribuns), ni *ἑκατόνταρχοι* (chefs de cent hommes ou centurions), ni *πεντηκόνταρχοι* (chefs de cinquante hommes), ni ainsi de suite, mais chacun à son rang particulier accomplit les ordres du roi *(βασιλεύς)* et des gouvernants ».

Toute traduction engage déjà une interprétation, selon qu'on pense ou non que l'armée romaine est directement visée. Nous avons conservé à *βασιλεύς* le sens général de « roi », quoique en grec tardif — surtout dans des papyrus — le terme puisse désigner l'empereur romain. La traduction latine porte *regis*.

Le mot *ἔπαρχος*, qui est le premier terme de l'énumeration, a un sens vague. Il peut désigner tous les genres de préfets, ou des gouverneurs de province; ce dernier sens est celui des Septante.[15] Le *χιλίαρχος* et le *ἑκατόνταρχος* peuvent correspondre respectivement aux grades de tribun et de centurion; mais le *πεντηκόνταρχος* (chef de cinquante hommes) est inconnu dans l'armée romaine. Lightfoot cherche en vain une équivalence et estime que le nom correspond de façon très inexacte à l'*optio* ou au *signifer*.[16] Le mot latin qui le traduit, *quinquagenarius*, semble avoir été si peu courant pour désigner un chef de cinquante que Saint Jérôme est obligé d'expliquer à ses lecteurs latins le sens de ce terme qu'ils trouvaient dans la traduction de la Bible.[17] En grec par contre on connaît des chefs de cinquante dans la marine athénienne[18];

[15] En 1 Esdras (LXX) 6, 26.28 le terme est appliqué deux fois à Zorobabel gouverneur de la Judée.

[16] J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part I: Clement of Rome, Londres 1890, sur 1 Clem 37, 3.

[17] *Quomodo centuriones vocantur qui centum praesunt militibus, et chiliarchi, qui mille, quos nos tribunos appellamus . . . sic in Israelitico exercitu quinquagenarii vocabantur, qui in capite erant quinquaginta militum* (*Commentaire sur Isaïe*, livre 2, sur Is 3, 3).

[18] Ainsi Démosthène, *Contre Polyclès*, 50, 24–25.

on trouve aussi la division de *πεντηκονταρχία* (avec le titre du chef correspondant) comme moitié de l'*ἑκατονταρχία* chez des écrivains tardifs qui composaient un art de la guerre d'après la tactique macédonienne de la phalange; la *πεντηκονταρχία* équivaut alors à un effectif de 64 hommes. Mais nulle part chez ces écrivains nous n'avons trouvé d'énumération correspondant à celle de Clément; d'ailleurs le *χιλίαρχος* n'est pas l'échelon immédiatement supérieur à l'*ἑκατόνταρχος*.[19]

Ces constatations posent un problème. Si la fonction de chef de cinquante est inconnue dans l'armée romaine du temps de Clément, il est difficile de dire que la comparaison de Clément lui est inspirée par l'armée romaine; par ailleurs le milieu hellénistique ne fournit pas d'énumération analogue. Au contraire, comme l'avait déjà reconnu Lightfoot, la répartition en chefs de mille, chefs de cent, chefs de cinquante, est typique de la répartition des fonctions dans le peuple de Dieu d'après la Bible et certains écrits juifs.

La fonction de chef de cinquante, si peu connue à Rome, est au contraire absolument commune dans la Bible.[20] Mais c'est la séquence des fonctions qui est surtout intéressante; or cette répartition hiérarchique est attribuée à Moïse lui-même. En Ex 18, 21.25, sur la suggestion de Jéthro, Moïse institue comme juges du peuple des chefs de mille, de cent, de cinquante et de dix; Dt 1, 15 répète que Moïse a pris « des hommes sages et instruits » et les a établis comme chefs de mille, de cent, de cinquante et de dix. Dans l'Ancien Testament hébreu, la séquence complète — avec cinquante et dix — ne se trouve que dans ces deux textes qui insistent sur l'origine mosaïque de cette répartition, donc sur son caractère sacré; c'est la répartition de l'assemblée du désert.[21]

La même séquence complète est attestée dans certains milieux du judaïsme tardif qui précisément voulaient retrouver la pureté de l'organisation mosaïque. D'après 1 Mac 3, 55 Judas Maccabée établit des hégoumènes du peuple, des chefs de mille, de cent, de

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[19] Voir Onosandre, *Art tactique* 34, 2 (éd. Teubner 189), Elien 16, 1–3 (cf. 9, 1–10), Asclépiodote 6, 3 (cf. 2, 10), dans *Tactica*, éd. H. K. Köchly–W. Rustow, Leipzig 1855, spécialement p. 153, 225, 326.

[20] Ainsi 1 Sam 8, 12; 2 Rois 1, 9–14; Is 3, 3.

[21] Les autres textes ne mentionnent que les chefs de mille et les chefs de cent: Nb 31, 14.48.52; 2 Sam 18, 1; 1 Chr 26, 6; 27, 1; 29, 6; 2 Chr 1, 2; 25, 5. Voir les variantes sur 1 Sam 8, 12.

cinquante et de dix. Lorsque Flavius Josèphe fait allusion à cette réorganisation de l'armée maccabéenne par Judas, il dit justement qu'elle fut faite « selon la manière antique des pères » [22], signe que cette répartition était considérée comme une tradition vénérable.

C'est pour la guerre sainte que Judas avait ainsi réorganisé son armée. Le même schéma se retrouve dans les milieux juifs des abords de l'ère chrétienne qui eux-mêmes se préparaient à la guerre sainte: dans les écrits de Qumrân, la séquence est complète en cinq passages appartenant à divers documents, qu'il s'agisse de défilés, de guerre sainte ou d'organisation des camps.[23]

Ajoutons que dans un livre comme celui d'Hénoch, qui a eu tant d'influence sur l'Eglise ancienne, les armées angéliques obéissent à la même répartition.[24] Il est curieux au contraire que les écrits rabbiniques ne paraissent pas postuler une division semblable, même idéale, du peuple.[25] Finalement il est vraisemblable que dans les milieux du judaïsme tardif cette répartition correspond à l'idéal d'une communauté messianiste qui cherche à retrouver la pureté des institutions mosaïques au désert. Si l'on en juge par Judas Maccabée et la communauté de Qumrân, les milieux qui prônaient

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[22] *Ant. Jud.* XII 7, 3 § 301. Comparer au contraire la manière dont Josèphe présente la réorganisation de l'armée juive par Jean de Giscala en *Guerre juive* II 20, 7 § 578: en établissant des décurions, centurions, tribuns Jean de Giscala copiait l'armée romaine; Josèphe saute précisément la catégorie cinquante. De même le chiffre 50 est omis en *Homélies Clémentines* 10, 14, texte qui établit une comparaison entre les puissances soumises à Dieu et les serviteurs de César.

On notera par ailleurs la curieuse adaptation de Josèphe sur Ex 18, 21: Raguel conseille à Moïse de diviser le peuple en groupes de 10,000, 1.000, 500, 50, 30, 20, 10 (*Ant. Jud.* III 4, 1 § 70–71).

[23] Voir 1QS 2, 21–22; 1QSa 1, 14; 1, 29–2, 1; 1QM 3, 13–4, 5. D'après l'*Ecrit de Damas* l'organisation des camps pendant tout le temps de l'impiété et jusqu'au règne messianique est conçue sur le type mille, cent, cinquante et dix (CD 13, 1–2).

[24] Comparer 1 Hénoch 69, 3 et 75, 1; 82, 11–12.

Il y a probablement dans la rédaction du récit de Marc 6, 40 un écho de cette division sacrale du peuple: pour la distribution des pains qui a lieu *au désert*, les convives s'allongent par groupes de cent et de cinquante. Luc suppose une répartition semblable puisqu'il note approximativement cinq mille hommes et des groupes de cinquante (Luc 9, 14).

[25] Le texte le plus proche serait celui de *Berakhot* 7, 3 où il est seulement question d'une limite de nombre au delà duquel on récite une bénédiction différente; ces limites sont 3, 10, 100, 1.000, 10.000 (omission du chiffre 50).

une telle division sacrale du peuple étaient à prépondérance sacerdotale.

Pour en revenir à Clément, la séquence qu'il propose ne peut s'expliquer qu'à partir du schéma juif traditionnel. Le « ainsi de suite » *(καθεξῆς)* suggère le chiffre dix, chiffre qui précisément a été ajouté par la version latine.[26] Mais comment expliquer alors le « nos » de « nos gouvernants », mot qu'a d'ailleurs supprimé la version latine [27], accentuant ainsi le caractère de généralisation du passage. Ce caractère de généralisation est souligné par l'allure rhétorique de la phrase: « Considérons les soldats qui servent sous nos gouvernants; avec quelle discipline, quelle docilité, quelle soumission ils accomplissent les tâches qui leur ont été assignées! » On notera la suite exclamative: *πῶς . . . πῶς . . . πῶς* et les lieux communs qui succèdent à la comparaison militaire. Le rhéteur Clément invite ses lecteurs à admirer les leçons de discipline des armées qu'ils connaissent, selon un thème connu de la diatribe. En fait l'armée qu'ils ont sous les yeux, c'est l'armée romaine; mais le moins qu'on puisse dire, c'est que l'exemple est vu de loin puisque cette armée serait décrite avec un grade qui n'y existe pas. Nous aurions affaire à un topos qui peut trouver effectivement son illustration dans la discipline des armées romaines; mais l'inspiration fondamentale de ce topos n'est pas romaine; et elle correspond à une conception juive préexistante dont le *pattern* est bien connu.

Pour rendre compte des sources de la conception militaire de Clément, on peut certainement proposer des hypothèses diversement nuancées. Toute hypothèse devra s'insérer dans une explication d'ensemble de l'épître de Clément; mais en ce qui concerne le chapitre 37 considéré en général comme un des plus romains ou des plus « stoïciens » de Clément, on doit désormais tenir compte de nouveaux éclairages sur le judaïsme des environs de l'ère chrétienne. Peut-être faudra-t-il discerner entre la culture hellénistique de l'auteur de l'épître et les influences proprement juives qui se sont exercées sur lui, sans doute à travers la communauté

[26] Voir G. Morin, *Sancti Clementis Romani ad Corinthios Epistulae versio latina antiquissima*, Maredsous 1894, p. 36, n. 2; la version latine porte: *nec decuriones nec de iniquis ceteri*; la meilleure explication de *iniquis* est peut-être une corruption de *deinceps*, comme le suggère Dom Morin.

[27] *Consideremus militantes principibus.*

chrétienne de Rome. Peut-être faudra-t-il montrer comment pouvaient se conjuguer harmonieusement un idéal juif de subordination mutuelle — qui remontait à une conception sacrale du peuple de Dieu —, et certains thèmes courants de la philosophie populaire. Il est délicat et souvent artificiel de chercher à dissocier des courants et à soupeser séparément leur degré d'influence. En ce qui concerne la discipline communautaire, si facile à exprimer en termes militaires, nous croirions volontiers que Clément est en dépendance d'une tradition juive, déjà acclimatée en milieu hellénistique, et vécue dans la communauté chrétienne de Rome.

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PER LA STORIA DEL VOCABOLO „SACRAMENTUM": „SACRAMENTUM" IN LATTANZIO

DI

VINCENZO LOI

Uno studio sul significato di "sacramentum" in Lattanzio sembrerebbe del tutto superfluo, data l'esistenza del lavoro del Lebacqz nel classico trattato: "Pour l'histoire du mot sacramentum" diretto dal De Ghellinck [1]; tanto più che la sua definizione conclusiva, integralmente ripresa dal Michel nel "Dictionnaire de la Théologie Catholique" [2], può essere da me accettata e ripetuta, almeno nella sua prima parte: "D'après Lactance lui-même, on peut donner du *sacramentum* tel qu'il l'entend, la description suivante: c'est la seule vraie doctrine *(sacramentum veritatis)*, qui ne peut être connue que par révélation *(mysterium sacramenti)*, et qui ouvre des aperçus inconnus de la seule raison humaine, sur la nature de Dieu *(sacramentum Dei)*, sur les rapports du Fils avec le Père *(sacramentum nativitatis suae)*, sur les destinées de l'homme *(sacramentum hominis)* et du monde entier *(sacramentum mundi et hominis)*: doctrine mystérieuse, parce que révélée, sacrée parce que venant de Dieu".[3] Ma è la seconda parte della conclusione del Lebacqz che non può essere da me condivisa, nella quale egli afferma: "Quant aux autres sens du mot, qui apparaissent à l'état isolé, nous n'en rencontrons que deux, le premier se traduisant par "rite symbolique" *(sacramento ignis et aquae)*, le second par "engagement sacré" *(casti et inviolati cubilis sacramenta)*: exemples uniques d'une signification différente et qui peuvent donc être négligés quand on veut déterminer la conception du mot "sacramentum" spéciale à Lactance".[4] L'analisi più attenta e

[1] J. de Ghellinck, "Pour l'histoire du mot sacramentum", t. I, Louvain et Paris 1924. Lo studio di G. Lebacqz su Lattanzio occupa la sez. II del cap. III, "Les derniers Anténicéens", pp. 238–266.

[2] A. Michel, voce "Sacrements" in Dict. Théol. Cath. XIV, col. 491.

[3] Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 265.

[4] Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 265.

metodologicamente più corretta dei passi lattanziani, mi induce, infatti, ad ampliare ed a largamente modificare le conclusioni del Lebacqz. Ho detto intenzionalemente "analisi metodologicamente più corretta", perchè, soprattutto, non si possono condividere vari aspetti della impostazione metodologica dello studio del Lebacqz. Egli, infatti, inizia la sua trattazione con questa premessa: "Dans les oeuvres de Lactance, le mot *sacramentum* se rencontre en tout 28 fois – mais deux fois dans une même citation du livre de la Sagesse, soit donc 26 exemples qu'on peut appeler originaux. La proportion entre les divers ouvrages où apparaît le mot est très inégale. Ainsi, nous le trouvons vingt-trois fois dans les *Institutions*, deux fois dans le *De opificio Dei*, et trois fois seulement dans l'*Epitome*. On s'attendrait à le rencontrer plus souvent dans ce dernier ouvrage, qui résume les *Institutiones*: à sa place, nous lisons des synonymes ou des périphrases qui ne sont pas sans valeur pour l'intelligence du mot *sacramentum*: la sagesse divine telle que Dieu nous l'a révélée, la vérité reçue par un bienfait d'en haut, le mystère magnifique qui contient toute la vérité, la religion divine et le salut du genre humain, tous les points essentiels de la philosophie".[5] Questa premessa è vera, per il contenuto, nell'economia generale dell'opera lattanziana, ma è inesatta per quel che riguarda i rapporti Divinae Institutiones-Epitome, ed è incompleta, poichè gli stessi sinonimi e le stesse perifrasi sono riscontrabili anche in passi paralleli delle Divinae Institutiones. Anzitutto, la sproporzione rilevabile dai rapporti numerici tra i sette libri delle Institutiones e quello dell'Epitome, rispetto ai 23 casi di *sacramentum* di Institutiones contro i tre di Epitome, sarebbe di per se minima, in termini puramente aritmetici; ma la sproporzione c'è, e ben più grave di quella rivelata dalla discutibile proporzione numerica proposta dal Lebacqz: se si considera, infatti, che dei tre casi dell'Epitome, quello di *Ep. 40,5* è nel passo di *Sap. 2,22* citato da *Inst. 4,16,10*, ed i casi di *Epit. 46,1* "*sacramentum crucis*" e *61,7* "*casti et inviolati cubilis sacramenta*" non hanno rispondenza nelle Divinae Inst., si deve concludere che ai ventidue casi di Div. Inst. in cui *sacramentum* è usato personalmente da Lattanzio, non corrisponde caso alcuno nell'Epitome. Inspiegabilmente il Lebacqz non ha rilevato il fatto;

[5] Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 241.

concludendo infatti la sua introduzione con il raffronto tra *Epit. 46,1* "*dicam nunc de sacramento crucis*" e *Div. Inst. 4,26,1* "*nunc ipsius crucis ratio reddenda est*", premette questa osservazione: "Ailleurs, nous notons, mais une fois seulement, que le mot *sacramentum*, exprimé dans l'Epitome, ne l'est pas à l'endroit des Institutions qui traite le même sujet".[6] L'osservazione va pertanto capovolta in questo senso: a tutti i ventitre casi di *sacramentum* di Institutiones, non corrisponde che un solo caso di Epitome: quello di *Epit. 40,5*, che riporta però lo stesso brano di *Sap. 2,22* citato da *Inst. 4,16,10*.

Metodologicamente errato è l'argomento addotto dal Lebacqz per convalidare la sua premessa, poichè pone a confronto brani dell'Epitome con brani delle Institutiones non corrispondenti nel contenuto: il raffronto in tanto può essere probativo, in quanto siano scelti passi corrispondenti nell'economia delle due opere; ma questo non è affatto il caso dei brani confrontati dal Lebacqz, i quali sono stati estratti arbitrariamente da parti delle due opere non corrispondenti nel contenuto. Soltanto se non si trovasse il vocabolo *sacramentum*, ma un suo sinonimo od una perifrasi, in un brano dell'Epitome riassumente un brano delle Institutiones ove compare *sacramentum*, si potrebbe dedurre con certezza che esso è stato sostituito: ed a questa conclusione porta effettivamente il raffronto diretto di brani delle due opere corrispondenti tra di loro.

Consideriamo il caso di *Epit. 35,5*, dal Lebacqz raffrontato con *Inst. 1,1,19*: in realtà i capitoli *Epit. 35–36* riassumono *Inst. 3,30* e *4,2–4*, ed appunto in *Inst. 3,30,6–7* noi troviamo perfetta corrispondenza di contenuto e quasi di espressione con *Epit. 35,4–5*; ebbene, in ambedue i passi il soggetto è lo stesso: *sapientia-veritas=religio*. Ma sempre in *Inst. 3,30* al paragrafo seguente leggiamo: "Qui vult sapiens ac beatus esse, audiat dei vocem, discat iustitiam, *sacramentum nativitatis suae norit;* humana contemnat, divina suscipiat, ut summum illut bonum ad quod natus est possit adipisci." ed antecipando il tema di *Inst. 4,2–4* prosegue: "Dissolutis religionibus universis . . . deinde convictis philosophiae disciplinis, ad veram nobis religionem sapientiamque veniendum est, quoniam est (ut docebo) utrumque coniunctum". Ebbene in *Epit. 36,1* ripete quasi alla lettera: "Nunc, quoniam falsam

[6] Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 242.

religionem, quae est in deorum cultibus, et falsam sapientiam, quae est in philosophia, refutavimus, ad veram religionem sapientiamque veniamus et quidem coniuncte, quia cohaerent, de utraque dicendum est". Prosegue quindi riassumendo concisamente l'argomentazione sviluppata in *Inst. 4,2–4*: "Nam deum vere colere, id est nec aliut quidquam sapientia. Ille enim summus et conditor rerum deus, qui hominem velut simulacrum suum fecit, idcirco utique soli ex omnibus animalibus rationem dedit, ut honorem sibi tamquam patri et timorem tamquam domino referret et hac pietate atque obsequio inmortalitatis praemium mereretur. *Hoc est verum divinumque mysterium*". Ecco dunque che al "*sacramentum nativitatis suae*" di *Inst. 3,30,8*, corrisponde il "*verum divinumque mysterium*" di *Epit. 36,5*, mentre il Lebacqz lo pone a confronto con *Epit. 38,2*.

Il Lebacqz pone a confronto *Epit. 38,2* con *Inst. 3,30,8* ed *Epit. 44,2* con *Inst. 6,8,10:* ma i capitoli 37–44 dell'Epitome, che illustrano il mistero della Incarnazione e della Redenzione operata dal Verbo incarnato, riassumono evidentemente i capitoli dal sesto al diciottesimo del libro quarto delle Institutiones: *Epit. 38*, in particolare, riassume *Inst. 4,10–11*, e proprio in *Inst. 4,10,1*, riguardo al piano divino della Incarnazione e della Passione, leggiamo: "In primis igitur scire homines oportet, sic a principio processisse *dispositionem summi dei*, ut esset necesse, appropinquante saeculi termino, dei filium descendere in terram . . . verumtamen non in virtute angeli aut potestate caelesti, sed in figura hominis et conditione mortali, ut cum magisterio functus fuisset, traderetur in manus impiorum mortemque susciperet . . . Hanc ergo *dispositionem* ne quis ignoret docebimus praedicta esse omnia quae in Christo videmus esse completa". Preannunziato l'argomento probativo delle profezie, conclude la introduzione con queste parole: "Quae omnia cum probavero eorum ipsorum litteris, qui deum suum mortali corpore utentem violaverunt, quid aliut obstabit, quominus veram sapientiam clarum sit in hac sola religione versari? *Nunc igitur a principio totius sacramenti origo narranda est*" *(par. 4–5)*. Pertanto il *totum sacramentum* di 4,10,5 è evidentemente uguale alla *dispositio summi Dei* di 4,10, 1 et 2, cioè al piano salvifico divino, alla economia divina della Incarnazione e Passione del Verbo. Ebbene proprio riguardo alla Incarnazione leggiamo in *Epit. 38,2*: "Idem est dei et hominis filius. Bis enim natus est:

primum de deo in spiritu ante ortum mundi, postmodum in carne ex homine . . . Cuius rei *praeclarum et grande mysterium est*, in quo et *salus hominum et religio summi dei et omnis veritas* continetur". Ed in *Epit. 44,1–3*, riguardo alla necessità di credere nel Verbo incarnato per conseguire salvezza: "Nulla igitur alia spes homini proposita est, nisi *veram religionem veramque sapientiam*, quae in Christo est, fuerit secutus: quem qui ignorat *a veritate* ac deo semper alienus est. Nec sibi de summo deo vel Iudaei vel philosophi blandiantur: qui filium non agnovit, nec patrem potuit agnoscere. *Haec est sapientia et hoc mysterium dei*. Per illum se deus et agnosci et coli voluit. *Ideo prophetas ante praemisit* qui de adventu eius praedicarent, ut cum facta essent in eo quaecumque praedicata sunt, tunc ab hominibus dei filius et deus crederetur".

Ma i due passi dell'Epitome si rifanno anche ad un altro brano delle Institutiones che trattano della Incarnazione del Verbo e della sua missione: a *Inst. 4,8,1–2–8*, in cui leggiamo: "In primis enim testificamur illum bis esse natum, primum in spiritu, postea in carne . . . qui cum esset a principio filius dei, regeneratus est denuo secundum carnem *(par. 1–2)* . . . Ille vero cum sit et ipse spiritus, tamen cum voce ac sono ex dei ore processit sicut verbum, ea scilicet ratione, quia voce eius ad populum fuerat usurus, id est quod magister futurus esset *doctrinae dei et caelestis arcani* ad homines perferendi" *(par. 8)*. Anche in questi casi vi è dunque corrispondenza esatta tra il contenuto dei brani delle Instutiones e quelli della Epitome, sicchè la terminologia degli uni chiarisce e precisa quella degli altri: *caeleste arcanum* di *Inst. 4,8,8* e *dispositio summi dei* di 4,10,1 sono espressioni sinonimiche di *sacramentum* di *Inst. 4,10,5*, cui corrispondono anche il *praeclarum et grande mysterium* di *Epit. 38,2* e *sapientia et mysterium summi dei* di *Epit. 44,2*.

Consideriamo infine l'ultimo raffronto proposto dal Lebacqz: *Epit. 62,9* con *Inst. 4,13,12*, il quale fa parte di un episodio assolutamente isolato. Il passo di *Epit. 62,8–9* riassume evidentemente *Inst. 7,3,1–19*, in cui leggiamo: "Illi enim nullam rationem adferebant cur humanum genus vel creatum vel constitutum esset a deo: nostrum hoc officium est, *sacramentum mundi et hominis exponere*, cuius illi expertes *sacrarium veritatis* nec attingere nec videre potuerunt *(par. 14)*". Ebbene in *Epit. 62,8* ritorna esattamente lo stesso concetto: "Sed cum vera sentirent, *huius tamen*

divini operis atque consilii nec causas nec rationes nec exitus perspexerunt, ut omne veritatis arcanum consummarent atque aliquo veluti fine concluderent". Il *sacramentum mundi et hominis* corrisponde dunque a *divini operis atque consilii causae rationes et exitus*, ed insieme all'*arcanum veritatis* di Epitome.

Il raffronto dei passi dell' Epitome con quelli corrispondenti delle Institutiones ci ha, pertanto, condotti a conclusioni, che sono solo parzialmente uguali a quelle del Lebacqz, ma ben più sicure e chiarificatrici del concetto lattanziano di *sacramentum*. La nostra analisi ha dimostrato che veramente in Epitome ci troviamo di fronte alla sistematica sostituzione di *sacramentum* con sinonimi e perifrasi equivalenti, ma insieme ha dimostrato che tali sinonimi e perifrasi erano già coesistenti con *sacramentum* nei brani corrispondenti delle Institutiones. Si impone pertanto un riesame di tutti i passi delle Divinae Institutiones, nei quali si legge il vocabolo *sacramentum*, ed un raffronto coi passi paralleli delle Institutiones stesse e delle altre opere lattanziane, affinchè sia meglio chiarito e definito il significato del *sacramentum* lattanziano ed insieme per stabilirne i rapporti di equivalenza con i sinonimi e le perifrasi da Lattanzio stesso usati.

"*Sacramentum verae religionis*" = "*mysterium veritatis*"

Div. Inst. 1,1,19: "Nobis autem qui *sacramentum verae religionis* accepimus cum sit *veritas revelata divinitus*, cum doctorem ducemque virtutis deum sequamur, universos sine ullo discrimine vel sexus vel aetatis ad caeleste pabulum convocamus: nullus enim suavior animo cibus est quam *cognitio veritatis*". Il passo segue immediatamente il rifiuto della filosofia terrena, proclamato al paragrafo 17–18, e già espresso al paragrafo 5 con queste parole: "Sed neque adepti sunt id quod volebant et operam simul atque industriam perdiderunt, quia *veritas id est arcanum summi dei*, qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac propriis sensibus non potest comprehendi: alioquin nihil inter deum hominemque distaret, *si consilia et dispositiones illius maiestatis aeternae* cogitatio adsequeretur humana". (*Inst. 1,1,5*).

Lattanzio si ripropone lo stesso atteggiamento innanzi alla filosofia umana nell'introduzione del *De ira dei*, in cui afferma: ". . . nobis aliquo lumine opus est ad depellendas tenebras quibus obfusa est hominis cogitatio *(par. 5)* . . . Lumen autem mentis

humanae deus est, quem qui cognoverit et in pectus admiserit, inluminato corde *mysterium veritatis* adgnoscet *(par. 6)*". Addotte alcune testimonianze polemiche contro la filosofia umana, poco dopo riprende: "Si ergo nulla est sapientia humana . . . apparet esse divinam nec ulli alii quam deo *veritatis notitia* subiacere *(par. 8)*. Deus igitur noscendus est, in quo solo *veritas est . . . cuius religio* multis modis impugnari solet ab iis qui neque *veram sapientiam* tenere potuerunt neque *magni et caelestis arcani* comprehendere rationem" *(Ira 1)*.

Un atteggiamento polemico analogo si incontra anche alla fine delle Divinae Institutiones, in cui Lattanzio esclama: "Haec est *doctrina sanctorum prophetarum*, quam Christiani sequimur, *haec nostra sapientia*, quam isti qui vel fragilia colunt vel inanem philosophiam tuentur, tamquam stultitiam vanitatemque derident, quia nos defendere hanc publice atque adserere non solemus, deo iubente ut quieti ac silentes *arcanum eius* in abdito atque intra nostram conscientiam teneamus nec adversus istos *veri profanos* . . pertinaci contentione certemus . . . Abscondi enim tegique *mysterium* quam fidelissime oportet, maxime a nobis, qui nomen fidei gerimus" *(Inst. 7,26,8–9)*.

"*Sacramentum verae religionis*" in questi brani ha dunque come equivalenti *veritas revelata divinitus-arcanum summi dei-mysterium veritatis-vera sapientia-magnum et caeleste arcanum*. Il suo contenuto è espresso con la perifrasi "*consilia et dispositiones maiestatis aeternae*" e può equivalere alla "*doctrina sanctorum prophetarum*".

"*Sacramentum Dei*" = *doctrina sanctorum prophetarum*

Div. Inst. 5,3,17: "Non est mirum si tu, qui a *dei sapientia* longe remotus es, nihil prorsus intellegis eorum quae legisti, cum Iudaei qui a principio *prophetas lectitaverant, quibusque sacramentum dei fuerat assignatum*, tamen quid legerent ignorarent". Questo passo ribadisce l'equivalenza, or ora stabilita, *sapientia dei* = *doctrina prophetarum* = *sacramentum dei*. Che Lattanzio giudichi la rivelazione profetica dell'Antico Testamento parte integrante del *sacramentum dei*, è confermato da chiarissimi passi paralleli.

Consideriamo il passo, da noi già parzialmenti esaminato (sopra, pag. 88) *Inst. 4,10,1–5*, in cui la *dispositio summi dei*, equivalente a *sacramentum*, significava il piano divino della Redenzione: a riguardo della *dispositio* divina Lattanzio afferma: "*Hanc* ergo

dispositionem ne quis ignoret, docebimus praedicta esse omnia, quae in Christo videmus esse completa. *(par. 2)* Nemo asseverationi nostrae fidem commodet, nisi ostendero *prophetas ante multam temporum seriem praedicasse (par. 3)*... Quae omnia cum probavero eorum ipsorum litteris, qui deum suum mortali corpore utentem violaverunt, quid aliut obstabit, quominus *veram sapientiam* clarum sit *in hac sola religione versari*? *(par. 4)* Nunc a principio *totius sacramenti origo* narranda est". *(par. 5)* Che i profeti siano intermediarii necessari per comprendere la *origo totius sacramenti*, lo dimostrano tutti i capitoli seguenti, che spiegano il mistero della Incarnazione e della Passione del Verbo incarnato alla luce delle Profezie.

In *Inst. 7,22,2*, a proposito della Resurrezione finale, leggiamo: "Aliter enim quam res habet traditur a poetis: qui licet sint multo antiquiores quam historici et oratores et cetera genera scriptorum, tamen quia *mysterium divini sacramenti* nesciebant et ad eos mentio resurrectionis futurae obscuro rumore pervenerat, eam vero temere ac leviter auditam in modum commenticiae fabulae prodiderunt *(par. 2)* ... Quamvis igitur *veritatis arcana* in parte corruperint, tamen ipsa res eo verior invenitur, quod cum *prophetis in parte consentiunt (par. 4)*". Lattanzio passa quindi a esaminare la concordanza tra l'insegnamento dei poeti pagani sulla fine del mondo e la dottrina dei profeti e spiega come debbano essere interpretate le divergenze. A questo proposito in *Inst. 7,24,9–10* osserva: "Quorum error hinc ortus est, quod *prophetae* futurorum pleraque sic proferunt et enuntiant quasi iam peracta. *Visiones* enim *divino spiritu offerebantur* oculis eorum et videbant illa in conspectu suo quasi fieri ac terminari. *(par. 9) Quae vaticinia eorum* cum paulatim fama vulgasset, *quoniam profani a sacramento ignorabant* quatenus dicerentur, completa esse iam veteribus saeculis illa omnia putaverunt". *(par. 10)* Ancora una volta ritorna l'equivalenza *vera sapientia = veritatis arcana = mysterium divini sacramenti = doctrina prophetarum*. Nei passi ora esaminati di Inst. VII la *doctrina prophetarum* riguarda però un insegnamento ben definito: i giorni estremi della storia della umanità. Pertanto *sacramentum = doctrina prophetarum = dispositio divina* abbraccia tutta la economia divina, dalla Rivelazione profetica al trionfo del Messia al termine dei tempi.

Sacramentum dei = vera religio

Inst. 4,8,2: "Quae duplex nativitas eius (i.e. Christi) magnum intulit humanibus pectoribus errorem circumfuditque tenebras etiam iis (i.e. Iudaeis) qui *verae religionis sacramenta* retinebant". Che Lattanzio considerasse la religione ebraica come misteriosa antecipazione della religione cristiana, era già intuibile dall'importanza attribuita alla dottrina profetica. In questo brano è chiaramente affermata la continuità della trasmissione del "*sacramentum dei*" dai Giudei ai Cristiani, affermazione che era anche in *Inst. 5,3,17* e che è espressa in termini equivalenti in *Inst. 4,14,17*: ". . . siquidem Iudaei quoque, *quibus solis arcanum dei creditum fuerat*, relicto deo vivo ad colenda figmenta . . . aberrassent".

Il messaggio profetico e la religione dell'Antico Testamento, in tanto fan parte del *sacramentum Dei*, in quanto si illuminano della luce del Cristo: *Inst. 4,20,2*: "Idcirco Moyses et idem ipsi prophetae legem quae Iudaeis data est testamentum vocant, quia nisi testator mortuus fuerit, nec confirmari testamentum potest nec sciri quid in eo scriptum sit . . . *(par. 2)* Itaque nisi Christus mortem suscepisset, aperiri testamentum id est *revelari et intellegi mysterium dei* non potuisset".

Il contenuto della rivelazione del Cristo non è mai espresso da Lattanzio col sostantivo *sacramentum*, ma con sinonimi e perifrasi che è interessante rilevare: *Inst. 4,8,8*: "Ille vero cum sit et ipse spiritus, tamen cum voce ac sono ex dei ore processit sicut verbum, ea scilicet ratione, quia voce eius ad populum fuerat usurus, id est quod ille *magister futurus esset doctrinae dei et caelestis arcani* ad homines perferendi".

Inst. 4,12,11: "Idcirco enim missus est a deo patre, ut universis gentibus, quae sub caelo sunt, *singularis et veri dei sanctum mysterium revelaret ablatum perfido populo*": è opportuno sottolineare come l'ultimo inciso ribadisce l'identità del *mysterium dei* per il Nuovo e l'antico Testamento. *Inst. 4,26,4*: "Aperuit caecorum lumina caelestis virtus et lucem non videntibus reddidit. Et hoc facto significabat fore ut conversus ad gentes quae deum nesciebant, insipientium pectora inluminaret *luce sapientiae et ad veritatem contemplandam* oculos cordis aperiret".

Anche in questi brani ritornano dunque i termini equivalenti: *verae religionis sacramenta = arcanum dei = mysterium dei = doctrina dei et caeleste arcanum = lux sapientiae = veritas*.

Tutto l'insegnamento della Rivelazione cristiana viene da *sacramentum* espresso in *Inst. 5,1,26*: "Hic (i.e. Cyprianus) tamen placere ultra verba *sacramentum ignorantibus* non potest, quoniam *mystica* sunt quae locutus est et ad id praeparata, ut a solis *fidelibus* audiantur"; l'aggettivo *mystica* richiama evidentemente il *mysterium*, usuale sinonimo di *sacramentum*.

Al significato fondamentale di "religione rivelata" si deve riferire il caso di *Inst. 2,15,2–3*: "Nocent illi (scil. daemones), sed iis a quibus timentur, quos manus dei potens et excelsa non protegit, *qui profani sunt a sacramento veritatis*. Iustos autem id est *cultores dei* metuunt". Analogo è il significato in *Inst. 4,13,12*, in cui Lattanzio, riportato un oracolo di Apollo consultato circa la divinità di Cristo, commenta: "Primo versu verum quidem dixit, sed argute consultorem fefellit *sacramentum veritatis* penitus nescientem".

Cosi pure in *Inst. 6,8,10*: "Quis *sacramentum dei sciens* tam significanter enarrare legem dei posset, quam illam homo *longe a veritatis notitia* remotus (i.e. Cicero) expressit?"

Sacramentum mundi = ratio mundi

Inst. 7,3,14: "Illi enim nullam rationem adferebant cur humanum genus vel creatum vel constitutum esset a deo: nostrum hoc officium est, *sacramentum mundi et hominis* exponere, cuius illi expertes *sacrarium veritatis* nec attingere nec videre potuerunt".

Esaminiamo anzittutto i passi paralleli illuminanti il concetto di *sacramentum mundi*:

Inst. 7,1,6: "Exponam igitur *rationem mundi*, ut facile possit intellegi *et quando et quare sit effectus a deo*, quod Plato, qui de mundi fabricatione disseruit, nec scire poterat nec explicare: quippe qui *caeleste mysterium, quod non nisi prophetis ac deo docente discitur*, ignorabat". – *Sacramentum mundi* è dunque uguale a "*ratio mundi*" cioè a "*et quare et quando sit effectus a deo*" ed è anche equivalente al *caeleste mysterium*, che è oggetto della *doctrina prophetarum*.

Inst. 7,6,1–2: "Nunc totam rationem brevi circumscriptione signemus. *Idcirco mundus factus est, ut nascamur*: ideo nascimur, ut adgnoscamus factorem mundi ac nostri deum: ideo adgnoscimus, ut colamus: ideo colimus, ut immortalitatem pro laborum mercede capiamus . . . ideo praemio immortalitatis adficimur, ut similes

angelis effecti summo patri ac domino in perpetuum serviamus et simus aeternum deo regnum. *Haec summa rerum est, hoc arcanum dei, hoc mysterium mundi*". – *Sacramentum mundi = mysterium mundi = arcanum dei* qui assurge dunque al significato di tutta l'economia divina nel creato.

Sacramentum hominis = ratio hominis

Inst. 2,18,1: "Quicumque igitur *sacramentum hominis* tueri *rationemque naturae suae* nititur obtinere, ipse se ab humo suscitet et erecta mente oculos suos tendat in caelum". Lattanzio dona la spiegazione del *sacramentum hominis* in *Inst. 7,5,1–3*: "Reddamus nunc *rationem quare hominem ipsum fecerit* (Deus) . . . Haec enim summa, hic cardo rerum est, quem qui non tenuerit, *veritas* illi omnis elabitur . . . quae illis (i.e. philosophis) si adfulsisset, si *sacramentum hominis* omne cognossent, numquam disputationes eorum et omnem philosophiam de transverso Academia iugulasset. Sicut ergo mundum non propter se deus fecit . . . ita ipsum hominem propter se". *Sacramentum hominis* significa dunque *ratio hominis = quare hominem Deus fecerit*. Equivalenza di espressioni ripresa poco dopo in *Inst. 7,7,9–10*: "Hominum causa mundum et omnia quae in eo sunt esse facta Stoici loquuntur: *idem nos divinae litterae docent*. Erravit ergo Democritus . . . *Cur enim formatus sit homo, divini sacramenti est*, quod quia ille scire non poterat, humanam vitam deduxit ad nihilum".

Con identico significato l'espressione *sacramentum hominis* ricorreva in *Inst. 5,17,15*: "Sed videlicet, qui *sacramentum hominis ignorant* ideoque ad hanc temporalem vitam referunt omnia, quanta sit vis iustitiae scire non possunt. Nam et cum de virtute disputant . . . expetendam esse aiunt sua causa: eius enim praemia, quae sunt aeterna et inmortalia, nullo modo vident".

Alla luce di questi brani possiamo meglio comprendere alcune espressioni sinonimiche di *sacramentum hominis*, sparse nelle opere lattanziane:

Inst. 3,30,8: "Qui vult sapiens ac beatus esse, audiat dei vocem, discat iustitiam, *sacramentum nativitatis suae norit*, humana contemnat, divina suscipiat, ut summum illut bonum, ad quod natus est possit adipisci".

A questo brano corrisponde, come già vedemmo, *Epit. 36,3*: "Ille summus et conditor rerum deus, qui hominem velut simula-

crum suum fecit, idcirco utique soli ex omnibus animalibus rationem dedit, ut honorem sibi tamquam patri et timorem tamquam domino referret et hac pietate atque obsequio immortalitatis praemium mereretur. *Hos est verum divinumque mysterium*".

Inst. 7,8,1–2: "Unum est igitur summum bonum inmortalitas, ad quam capiendam et formati a principio et nati sumus. Ad hanc tendimus, hanc spectat humana natura, ad hanc provehit virtus: quod bonum quia deprehendimus, superest ut etiam de ipsa inmortalitate dicamus. *(par. 1)* Platonis argumenta . . . parum habent firmitatis ad implendam veritatem, quoniam nec *rationem totius mysterii magni* consummaverat . . . nec summum bonum comprehenderat" *(par. 2)*. Il destino di immortalità dell'uomo è presentato come mistero divino nel brano corrispondente di *Epit. 63,8*: "Immortales esse animas idem Plato adfirmat: sed *cur aut quomodo aut quando aut per quem immortalitatem adsequamur aut quod sit omnino tantum illut mysterium*, cur ii qui sunt inmortales futuri, prius mortales nascantur, deinde . . . ad aeternam illam beatitudinem transferantur, non comprehendit".

Sacramentum hominis = sacramentum nativitatis suae = verum divinumque mysterium indica dunque anche il piano providenziale che destina l'uomo alla immortalità e può essere reso con la espressione: *cur aut quomodo aut quando aut per quem inmortalitatem adsequamur*.

Sacramentum divinum = quare aut quo religio vera opprimatur

Inst. 2,3,20–21: "Sed moverit eos fortasse illut, quod si qua esset vera religio, exereret se ac vindicaret nec pateretur esse aliut quicquam *(par. 20)*. Videre enim nullo modo poterant *quare aut quo et quemadmodum religio vera opprimeretur, quod est divini sacramenti et caelestis arcani*: id vero nisi doceatur, aliquis scire nullo pacto potest".

In *Inst. 5,7,3* Lattanzio ripropone il medesimo tema in termini-analoghi. Affermata l'identità iustitia = dei unici pia et religiosa cultura, si pone questa difficoltà: "Sed movet aliquem fortasse, cur si haec sit iustitia, non omni humano generi sit data nec in eam multitudo universa consenserit. Magnae hoc disputationis est, cur a deo, cum iustitiam terrae daret, sit retenta diversitas". La sostanza dell'argomento sviluppato subito appresso è nella conclusione finale: "Haec nimirum causa efficit ut quamvis sit

hominibus missa iustitia, tamen aureum saeculum non esse dicatur, *quia malum non sustulit, ut retineret diversitatem, quae sacramentum divinae religionis* continet sola" *(par. 10)*. La tragica coesistenza del Male col Bene è dunque il contenuto del *divinum sacramentum*.

E' opportuno rilevare che in *Inst. 5,7,3* a proposito della *diversitas*, Lattanzio afferma: "Magnae disputationis est cur a deo, cum iustitiam terrae daret, sit retenta diversitas: quod et alio loco declaravi et ubicumque opportune inciderit explicabitur". Ebbene: soltanto in *Opif. Dei 19,9 ap. cr. 2*, in un brano cioè a torto ritenuto spurio [7], noi troviamo il vocabolo *diversitas* esprimente il mistero divino della coesistenza del Bene col Male: "Ante omnia *diversitatem* voluit esse (sog.: Deus) ideoque vulgo non aperuit veritatem, sed eam paucissimis revelavit: *quae diversitas omne arcanum mundi continet*".

Che l'ignoranza del Bene, tragica conseguenza dell'esistenza del Male, sia stata permessa da Dio nel piano misterioso della sua Provvidenza, è affermato da Lattanzio esplicitamente in *Inst. 5,18,11*: "Sed idcirco virtutem ipsam deus sub persona stultitiae voluit esse celatam, ut *mysterium veritatis ac religionis suae esset arcanum*, ut has religiones sapientiamque terrenam extollentem se altius sibique multum placentem vanitatis errorisque damnaret, ut proposita denique difficultate angustissimus trames ad inmortalitatis praemium sublime perduceret".

Concetto analogo aveva espresso in *Inst. 4,2,3*: "Qui (scil. philosophi) quoniam peragratis et exploratis omnibus nusquam ullam sapientiam conprehenderunt et alicubi esse illam necesse est, apparet ibi potissimum esse quaerendam ubi stultitiae titulus apparet: cuius velamento deus, *ne arcanum sui divini operis* in propatulo esset, *thensaurum sapientiae ac veritatis* abscondit".

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[7] La critica odierna è incline a riconoscere l'autenticità dei passi tramandatici dai codici Parisini e Gothanus per Opif. Dei, 19,8 ed Inst. 1,1,13—2,8,6—7,5,27—7,27,2, dal Brandt considerati spuri e perciò posti nell'apparato critico. L'autenticità ne fu rivendicata dal Pichon nel suo studio: "Lactance. Étude sur le mouvement philosophique et religieux sous le règne de Constantin", Paris 1901, pag. 9 ss. La validità dei suoi argomenti fu riconosciuta dallo stesso Brandt in Berl. Wochenschr. 23, 1903, col. 1225. Per la posizione della critica odierna: J. Moreau, "De la mort des persécuteurs", I, Paris 1954, pag. 17 ss.—A. Wlosok, "Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis", Heidelberg 1960, pag. 187 e n. 18.

Sacramentum crucis = ratio crucis

Epit. 46,1–2: "Dicam nunc de *sacramento crucis* . . . Scio equidem multos, dum abhorrent nomen crucis, refugere a veritate, cum in ea et ratio magna sit et potestas". Il migliore commento lo dona Lattanzio stesso nel passo corrispondente di *Inst. 4,26,1–2*: "Nunc ipsius crucis ratio reddenda est et vis enarranda. *Quid summus pater a principio disposuerit* et quemadmodum cuncta quae gesta sunt *ordinarit*, non tantum divinatio prophetarum . . . sed etiam ratio ipsius passionis docet". Il *sacramentum crucis* significa dunque la misteriosa disposizione divina, per cui, come acutamente si esprime il Lebacqz [8], "objet de scandale pour quelques-uns, le bois d'ignominie fait partie du plan divin, de la révélation mystérieuse et incompréhensible aux profanes".

Sacramentum = Scriptura sacra?

Inst. 5,2,15: "Quis eum Demosthenes poterit ab impietate defendere, qui religionis cui fuerat accensus et fidei cuius nomen induerat *et sacramenti quod acceperat* proditor factus est?" Il brano si riferisce a un avversario del Cristianesimo, probabilmente da identificare con Ierocle, il quale, da cristiano divenuto apostata, ha osato profanare il deposito della fede ricevuto col battesimo; ma che cosa può significare esattamente l'espressione "*sacramentum quod acceperat*"? Il Lebacqz osserva a proposito di questo passo [9]: "Nous ne croyons pas qu'il soit permis, même dans ce texte, de donner à *sacramentum* un sens qui le ferait équivaloir a *symbolum*, à la profession de foi, le symbole du baptême, et qui se rencontre chez Tertullien et d'autres. Cependant nous croyons rester fidèle à la direction ordinaire de la pensèe de Lactance, en mettant l'accent sur l'idée plus profonde de "doctrine reçue d'en haut, d'enseignement divin", plutôt que sur le sens plus formel de symbole". A conferma di questa interpretazione si può addurre il fatto, non rilevato dal Lebacqz, che l'espressione *accipere sacramentum* ricorre solo in *Inst. 1,1,19*, nelle opere lattanziane, ed in *Cypr. Sent. ep. 14*: "Secundum *sacramentum dei gratiae caelestis quod accepimus* unum baptisma quod est in ecclesia sancta credimus", in due casi cioè in cui *sacramentum* ha chiaramente il

[8] Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 256.
[9] Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 261.

senso di *dottrina rivelata.*[10] Tuttavia avanzo l'ipotesi di un altro senso possibile: *sacramentum = instrumentum = Sacra Scriptura.*

Il De Backer osserva nel suo studio su *sacramentum* in Tertulliano: "Le mot *sacramentum*, appliqué d'abord au serment du baptême et à l'initiation chrétienne, l'a été dans la suite à leur objet partiel; dès lors le code doctrinal des Livres Saints, instrument de formation religieuse *(instrumentum)*, est souvent présenté comme moyen d'initiation". Ed in nota soggiunge: "*Instrumentum* et *sacramentum* sont parfois synonymes chez Tertullien, à part que *sacramentum* comporte une idée de mystère".[11] Analogamente in Lattanzio *Inst. 4,20,2–4* troviamo che *Testamentum* è considerato equivalente a *mysterium dei*, come già esaminammo, cioè al sinonimo più importante di *sacramentum*. Che *testamentum* sia uguale a *Scriptura* è detto da Lattanzio esplicitamente: "Verum scriptura omnis in duo testamenta divisa est. Illut quod adventum passionemque Christi antecessit, id est lex et prophetae, vetus dicitur . . ." Veniamo ora alla interpretazione di *Inst. 5,2,15*: se leggiamo il contesto in cui è inserito il brano, si constata immediatamente che l'accento è posto da Lattanzio sulla profanazione della Sacra Scrittura operata dall'apostata: "Composuit enim libellos duos . . . in quibus ita *falsitatem scripturae sacrae* arguere conatus est, tamquam sibi esset tota contraria *(par. 13)*. Nam quaedam capita quae repugnare sibi videbantur exposuit, *adeo multa, adeo intima* enumerans ut aliquando ex eadem disciplina fuisse videatur *(par. 14)*. Quod si fuit *etc.*" La conoscenza della Sacra Scrittura è dunque denunzia, per Lattanzio, dell'appartenenza al Cristianesimo, sicchè l'avversario sarebbe "*proditor religionis*", della religione cui apparteneva, "*fidei*", dell'impegno di fedeltà che aveva giurato, "*sacramenti quod acceperat*": il significato è ricavabile dalla avversativa immediatamente seguente: "nisi forte casu in manus eius *divinae litterae* inciderunt. Quae igitur temeritas erat id audere dissolvere *quod illi nemo interpretatus est?*", significa cioè la Sacra Scrittura contenente il *sacramentum dei*, la cui interpretazione era parte essenziale della iniziazione cristiana.

Il fatto che in *Inst. 4,20,2–4* Lattanzio consideri i *duo Testamenta*

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[10] Per il brano di Cipriano cfr. J. B. Poukens in "Pour l'histoire du mot . . ." o.c. pag. 192.

[11] É. de Backer, in "Pour l'histoire . . ." o.c. pag. 93.

come sacro deposito del *mysterium dei*, mostra che l'identificazione *sacramentum = sacra scriptura* non è estranea al pensiero lattanziano ed il fatto che essa abbia i precedenti in Tertulliano, mostra che essa si ricollega a una tradizione preesistente.

Iudaicae religionis sacramenta = praecepta Iudaicae legis (= rito simbolico)

Inst. 4,17,1–2: "Sed irae atque invidiae suae ... alias causas praeferebant (Iudaei): quod legem dei per Moysen datam solveret, id est quod sabbatis non vacaret ..., quod circumcisionem vacuefaceret, quod abstinentiam suillae carnis auferret: in quibus rebus *Iudaicae religionis sacramenta* consistunt". Il Lebacqz così interpreta: "Les *sacramenta Iudaicae religionis*, le fond mystérieux de la religion juive, tel pourrait bien être, dans la pensée de Lactance, le lien entre les *sacramenta dei*, les desseins secrets de Dieu dont nous parle la Bible, et le *sacramentum religionis nostrae*, qui en est l'aboutissement. Entre les deux ... se place l'alliance de Dieu avec le peuple élu, les *sacramenta iudaicae religionis*, renfermant une parcelle de la révélation définitive, du *sacramentum religionis nostrae*, qu'ils annoncent et qu'ils figurent".[12] Se questa interpretazione potrebbe essere opportunamente applicata ai passi *Inst. 4,8,2* e *5,3,17*, da noi già commentati, poichè coglie esattamente la sostanza del pensiero lattanziano riguardo alla continuità Giudaismo-Cristianesimo, trascende, a mio parere, il significato di *Iudaicae religionis sacramenta* in questo passo. Lattanzio stesso, infatti, ce ne dono il senso, illustrando lungo il capitolo il carattere simbolico della circoncisione e della astinenza dalle carni porcine e concludendo la sua esposizione con queste parole: "Sic *universa praecepta Iudaicae legis ad exhibendam iustitiam spectant*, quoniam per ambagem data sunt, *ut per carnalium figuram spiritalia noscerentur*". L'espressione *Iudaicae religionis sacramenta* si potrebbe pertanto rendere con questa analoga: *praecepta Iudaicae legis-figura spiritalium*, cioè *osservanze religiose simboliche, riti religiosi simbolici*. Significato questo che ritornerà frequente in Agostino,[13] ma già presente negli scritti di Tertulliano e Cipriano,

[12] Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 249.

[13] Per Agostino cfr. Ch. Couturier in "Études Augustiniennes", Paris 1953, pag. 180, pag. 181 Tav. I, pag. 278 quadro riassuntivo. Alcuni esempi:

e non isolato nelle Divinae Institutiones, ove si incontra già in *2,9,21*: affermato che l'acqua ed il fuoco sono gli elementi primordiali, Lattanzio ne sottolinea l'importanza con la testimonianza del valore simbolico di un antico rito matrimoniale romano: "Ideoque a veteribus institutum est ut *sacramento ignis et aquae* nuptiarum foedera sanciantur, quod fetus animantium calore et humore corporentur atque animentur ad vitam". Egli si riferisce al rito simbolico dell'offerta dell'acqua e del fuoco, fatta dallo sposo alla sposa durante il corso delle cerimonie nuziali, consacrate dal rituale avito romano.[14]

I significati di *sacramentum* finora riscontrati nei passi lattanziani esaminati, rientrano tutti nel quadro semasiologico del vocabolo proprio del linguaggio cristiano, ma del tutto estraneo alla latinità classica. L'importanza fondamentale della dottrina sacramentale nella storia del pensiero teologico cristiano, avendo fatto sì che numerosi siano anche gli studi dedicati alla storia del vocabolo e del suo contenuto semasiologico, ad essi rinvio per l'illustrazione delle tappe, attraverso cui *sacramentum*, assimilati i significati del greco *μυστήριον*, da vocabolo giuridico profano è divenuto vocabolo caratteristico della lingua cristiana, adottato per esprimere il mistero della Rivelazione ed i mezzi rituali attraverso cui si comunica la Grazia della Redenzione.[15] Mi limiterò pertanto ad alcune osservazioni, miranti ad inquadrare il significato lattanziano di *sacramentum* nella storia dello sviluppo semantico del vocabolo. A questo proposito, il Lebacqz osserva giustamente: "Dans son acception la plus fréquente, le terme *sacramentum* est certainement

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Annot. in Iob 30.—C. Faust. 19,13.—Civ. Dei 6, 11.—10,15.
Per Tertulliano, cfr. De Backer, o.c. pag. 115 ss.
Per Cipriano, cfr. Poukens, o.c. pag. 175.

[14] cfr. Daremberg–Saglio, "Dict. ant. grec. et rom.", t. III, pag. 1656.

[15] cfr. Ernout–Meillet, "Dict. étymologique de la langue latine", (4 ed.) Paris 1959, pag. 586.—Odo Casel, "Das Christliche Kultmysterium" (4 ed.) Regensburg 1960, pag. 75 ss.—R. Braun, "Deus Christianorum", Paris 1962, pag. 435 ss.—Di somma importanza è l'articolo della Mohrmann: "Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens", apparso in "The Harvard Theological Review", 47,1954, e ripreso in "Études sur le latin des Chrétiens", I, Roma 1958, pag. 233–244. Ad esso rimando per la principale bibliografia sul problema.

emprunté par Lactance au vocabulaire chrétien, car la langue classique, avec le sens militaire et le sens juridique de *sacramentum*, ne fournissait rien de pareil".[16] E alla domanda: donde ha potuto Lattanzio attingere il significato da lui dato a *sacramentum*, il Lebacqz risponde indicando nei Libri Sacri, attraverso la mediazione di Cipriano, e precisamente in *Sap. 2,22*, riportato in *Inst. 4,16,10* ed *Epit. 40,5*, la fonte cui Lattanzio avrebbe attinto.[17] Il Lebacqz intuisce anche che il significato lattanziano è peró improntato da "sa touche particulière, résultante de tout un passé, et s'explicant par sa conception originale, à ce temps-là, de l'apologétique".[18] Ebbene: lo studio della A. Wlosok: "Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis", che tanta luce ha gettato sulla genesi del pensiero lattanziano, ci permette oggi di dare un preciso significato alla intuizione del Lebacqz: è la suggestione degli scritti gnostici, soprattutto ermetici, nei quali la *sapientia* è presentata come dono divino rivelato ai pochi illuminati nel mistero della iniziazione, che ha orientato Lattanzio al significato centrale di *sacramentum* come mistero divino, rivelato agli illuminati dalla grazia battesimale.[19]

Rimangono ora da esaminare alcuni passi, nei quali il significato di *sacramentum* rientra nel quadro semasiologico che gli è proprio nella latinità classica.

Sacramentum virtutis (=impegno sacro)

Opif. 19,8: "Hoc igitur dei munere an utamur in nostra esse voluit potestate: hoc enim concesso (i.e. sapientia) ipsum hominem *virtutis sacramento religavit*, quo vitam posset adipisci". – Nei

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16 Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 243.

17 Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 244–245. Cosí suona il testo di Sap. 2,22 riportato da Lattanzio: "Haec cogitaverunt et erraverunt: excaecavit enim illos stultitia ipsorum et nescierunt *sacramenta dei*". Il versetto conclude un lungo brano, Sap. 2,12–17 e 19–22, applicato alla passione di Cristo da Cipriano in Test. 2,14. Il Lebacqz traduce "sacramenta dei" con l'espressione "les desseins secrets de Dieu" ed interpreta giustamente: "le but admirable de la sagesse divine, qui fait tourner à ses fins les projets les plus criminels". Cfr. o.c. pag. 245–246.

18 Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 245.

19 A. Wlosok, "Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis", Heidelberg 1960. Cfr. capitolo: "Die gnostische Erleuchtungs- und Offenbarungslehre", pag. 127 ss. Per i paralleli tra Lattanzio e le fonti gnostiche, cfr. il capitolo "Die Erläuterung der Heilsformel durch hermetische Begriffe", pag. 205 ss.

codici Parisinus, Gothanus e Glasgoviensis Hunterianus, segue immediatamente un brano di impostazione nettamente dualistica, nel quale si descrive la *virtus* come forza morale di combattimento, contributo dell'uomo alla cosmica battaglia voluta da Dio tra il Bene ed il Male. Subito appresso, nella tradizione unanime dei manoscritti, si riprende: "Magna est enim vis hominis, magna ratio, *magnum sacramentum: a quo si quis non defecerit, nec fidem suam devotionemque prodiderit*, hic beatus, hic denique (ut breviter finiam) similis deo sit necesse est" *(Opif. Dei 19,9)*.

Il Lebacqz commenta i due passi alla luce della impostazione generale della sua trattazione ed interpreta, quindi, *sacramentum* come "*l'ensemble des vérités révélées, à la portée seulement de quelques-uns*"; l'espressione *magnum sacramentum* del par. 9 viene, inoltre, da lui cosi parafrasata: "Profond est le mystère de sa destinée, c'est à dire "*L'enseignement de Dieu qui découvre à l'âme humaine les splendeurs de la réligion chrétienne*" ".[20]

Ben diversa è l'interpretazione data dalla Wlosok nel suo profondo studio su "Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis", nella parte terza del quale ella dimostra ed illustra la tesi che: "Die Wendung *virtutis sacramento religare* ist militärischen Ausdrücken für die Kriegsdienstvereidigung nachgebildet, wie etwa *sacramento militiae obligare*, und kann zunächst allgemein die ethische Verpflichtung des Menschen bezeichnen . . . Aber auch das Christentum hatte sie sich angeeignet und brauchte zur Zeit des Laktanz sacramentum schon als technische Bezeichnung für das Taufgelöbnis. Es liegt daher nahe, dass Laktanz als Christ auch diesem Sprachgebrauch folgt und nicht mehr den allgemeinen geistigen Kriegsdienst, sondern die christliche Glaubensverpflichtung meint".[21] Rimandando allo studio della Wlosok per la dimostrazione della validità di questa tesi,[22] mi limiterò a convalidarla con alcune esservazioni, che serviranno anche alla interpretazione di un altro brano lattanziano, di *Inst. 5,9,11.*

La metafora *vita christiana-militia caelestis* è famigliare allo spirito romano di Lattanzio: immagini di combattimento e di guerra ritornano frequenti in tutta l'opera lattanziana e suggellano, concludendone la perorazione finale, le Divinae Institutiones:

[20] Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 262.
[21] Wlosok, o.c. pag. 184–185.
[22] Wlosok, o.c. pag. 186–190.

"Infatigabilem *militiam deo militemus*, stationes vigiliasque celebremus, congrediamur cum hoste quem novimus fortiter, ut victores ac devicto adversario triumphantes *praemium virtutis* quod ipse promisit a domino consequamur". Nei brani, in cui vengono sviluppate le analogie *Deus-imperator* e *cultus dei-militia (Inst. 5,19,25 ss. – 5,22,17 – 6,4,15 ss. – 7,27,16 – Mor. per. 16,9)*, si precisa il carattere combattivo della *virtus* cristiana nel senso caratteristicamente romano di *patientia*, forza morale, cioè, di combattimento e di resistenza alla fatica, al dolore ed alla sofferenza, che giunge fino alla sopportazione eroica della morte.[23] Lattanzio stesso, con sensibilità profondamente romana, definisce in *Inst. 3,29,16*: "*Virtus est perferendorum malorum fortis ac invicta patientia*". Soprattutto significativi sono due brani:

Inst. 5,19,25: "Nam si is qui in hac terrestri militia regi suo fidem servat in aliquo egregio facinore, si post vixerit, acceptior fit et carior, si perierit, summam consequitur gloriam, quod pro duce suo morte occubuerit, quanto magis *imperatori omnium deo fides servanda est*, qui non tantum viventibus, sed etiam mortuis *praemium* potest *virtutis* exsolvere? Igitur *dei cultus, quoniam militiae caelestis est, devotionem maximam fidemque desiderat*".

Inst. 5,22,17: "Quomodo enim potest *imperator militum suorum probare virtutem*, nisi habuerit hostem? et illi tamen adversarius exsurgit invito, quia mortalis est et vinci potest, deo autem quia repugnari non potest, ipse adversarios nomini suo excitat, non qui contra ipsum deum pugnent, sed contra *milites eius, ut devotionem ac fidem* suorum vel probet vel conroboret". – In ambedue i brani troviamo, dunque, il nesso *virtus-devotio-fides*, che in *Opif. dei 19,8–9* esprime il contenuto del *sacramentum*, il quale ne viene pertanto illuminato nel suo significato classico, posto in rilievo dalla Wlosok, di *impegno sacro giurato*, applicato alla metafora *cultus dei-militia* per esprimere l'impegno sacro battesimale.

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[23] Il concetto lattanziano di virtus-patientia è stato illuminato dalla dissertazione dottorale di H. J. Kunick, discussa a Friburgo (Ger.) nell'anno 1955: "Der lateinische Begriff patientia bei Laktanz", pag. 177 ss. Per la concezione tipicamente romana della virtus-patientia cfr. V. Pöschl, "Grundwerte römischer Staatsgesinnung in den Geschichtswerken des Sallust", Berlin 1940, pag. 12. Per il carattere combattivo della virtus nell'etica romana, cfr. M. Pohlenz, "Die Stoa. Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung", Göttingen 1948, pag. 258 e 271.

Il medesimo senso è certamente da riconoscere in *Inst. 5,9,11*: "Si qui autem doloris vel mortis metu vel *suapte perfidia caeleste sacramentum deseruerint* et ad funesta sacrificia consenserint, eos laudant et honoribus mactant... Qui autem magni aestimaverint *fidem cultoresque se dei non abnegaverint*, in eos vero totis carnificinae suae viribus... incumbunt". – Il parallelismo antitetico della expressione di *Opif. 19,9* "magnum sacramentum, a quo si quis non defecerit nec fidem suam devotionemque prodiderit", rispetto a quella di *Inst. 5,9,11*: "si qui suapte perfidia caeleste sacramentum deseruerit", mi pare evidente: la *perfidia* si contrappone alla *fides*, impegno sacro di fedeltà contratto col *sacramentum caeleste*; l'aggettivo stesso *caeleste* richiama inequivocabilmente il *cultus dei* = *militia caelestis* di *Inst. 5,19,26*.

Casti et inviolati cubili sacramenta (= legame sacro)

Epit. 61,7: "Qui habet coniugem nihil quaerat extrinsecus, sed contentus ea sola *casti et inviolati cubilis sacramenta* custodiat". Il Lebacqz traduce l'espressione con "engagements sacrés, engagements à un devoir religieux" e commenta: "C'est le seul exemple, chez Lactance, où subsiste encore le sens de sacramentum-serment".[24] In realtà, abbiamo visto, questo senso è ben presente e vitale nell'opera e nel pensiero lattanziano.

Nel suo articolo "Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens",[25] la Mohrmann cita questo passo tra gli esempi del significato "lien sacré et juridique", sviluppatosi dal senso primario di "engagement réligieux", da lei postulato per sacramentum, e identifica vari esempi di autori non cristiani, dai quali si deduce l'appartenenza di questo significato al contenuto semantico di sacramentum, acquisito già dalla latinità post-classica: Paulus ex Festo 55,22 – Petr. Sat. 80 – Quint. Decl. 357,25 – Apul. Met. 3,26.

Conclusione

Esaminati i passi lattanziani, ove ricorre sacramentum, e confrontati con i passi paralleli, tracciamo ora un quadro riassuntivo

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[24] Lebacqz, o.c. pag. 264.

[25] Mohrmann, artic. citato alla nota 15; in "Études sur le latin..." o.c. pag. 238.

del contenuto semantico del vocabolo: in ben ventidue casi su ventotto, esso ha il significato centrale di "*verità arcana rivelata da Dio e perciò sacra*".

Esso è interpretato da Lattanzio stesso con le perifrasi equivalenti: *veritas id est arcanum dei (Inst. 1,1,5) – vera religio veraque sapientia (Epit. 44,1) – doctrina dei et caeleste arcanum (Inst. 4,8,8) – veritas revelata divinitus (Inst. 1,1,19) – doctrina sanctorum prophetarum (Inst. 7,26,8).* In quanto esprimente il contenuto della Rivelazione divina, sacramentum è definito dalle espressioni: *dispositio summi dei (Inst. 4,10,1) – consilia et dispositiones maiestatis aeternae (Inst. 1,1,5) – divini operis atque consilii causae rationes exitus (Epit. 62,8) – ratio mundi = et quando et quare sit effectus a deo (Inst. 7,1,6) – ratio hominis = quare hominem ipsum deus fecerit (Inst. 7,5,1) – cur aut quomodo aut per quem immortalitatem adsequamur (Epit. 63,8) – ratio crucis (Inst. 4,26,1) – diversitas boni et mali (Inst. 5,7,10).*

Con il significato fondamentale di "*verità rivelata da Dio*", gli corrispondono ancora i sinonimi *mysterium* (tredici casi) ed *arcanum* (dieci casi), i quali prevalgono nettamente su sacramentum in un confronto proporzionale Institutiones–Epitome: mentre infatti a ventitre casi di sacramentum in Institutiones, rispondono solo tre casi in Epitome, a otto casi di mysterium in Institutiones rispondono quattro casi in Epitome ed a sette casi di arcanum, due casi in Epitome. A questo proposito va rilevato che la differenza di terminologia tra le due opere, non è un particolare casuale, ma rientra nell'economia generale dell'Epitome, la quale, come già rilevò il Pichon [26] ed hanno ripetuto il de Labriolle [27] ed il Quasten,[28] è una vera e propria riedizione abbreviata dell'opera maggiore, con omissioni, addizioni, mutamenti, correzioni, che provano un ripensamento di Lattanzio, una volontà di adattamento alla situazione politico-sociale nuova, maturatasi dopo la pace costantiniana. Si può avanzare un'ipotesi per la spiegazione della quasi totale eliminazione del termine sacramentum: il fatto che l'Epitome

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[26] Pichon, o.c. pag. 154–156.

[27] P. de Labriolle, "Histoire de la Littérature latine chrétienne", t. I, Paris 1947 (3 ed.), pag. 300.

[28] J. Quasten, "Patrology", II, Utrecht–Antwerp 1953, pag. 399. Il Blakeney, nell'introduzione alla sua edizione dell'Epitome, Londra 1950, non accenna al problema.

fosse indirizzata ad un cristiano di origine greca,[29] potrebbe aver indotto Lattanzio ad evitare un termine ormai inteso dai cristiani in senso tecnico, cioè come "mezzo rituale di salvezza". Il fatto stesso che in Epitome compaiano soltanto le espressioni "sacramentum crucis" e "sacramenta casti et inviolati cubilis" mi sembra non infirmi la validità di questa ipotesi, poichè e nella Croce e nell'impegno matrimoniale è ben compreso un valore sacramentale, che forse non era estraneo al pensiero di Lattanzio.

Non considerando il significato di "impegno sacro", ricorrente due volte soltanto, ma ben vitale nel pensiero lattanziano, gli altri significati di sacramentum rimangono isolati e senza risonanza: osservanza religiosa, rito religioso simbolico, legame sacro, strumento della Rivelazione. Di questi, solo due significati hanno precedenti nella latinità classica: quello di "impegno sacro" e quello di "legame sacro"; mentre il significato centrale di sacramentum in Lattanzio è patrimonio esclusivo del latino cristiano, in parte derivato dall'insegnamento biblico, cui egli attinge direttamente, come dimostra la citazione di Sap. 2,22 in Inst. 4,16,6 ed in Epit. 40,5, ed acquisito dal processo evolutivo del latino cristiano da Tertulliano a Cipriano; in parte maturato dall'esperienza intellettuale e spirituale propria di Lattanzio, ma rispondente, insieme, al clima filosofico-religioso della sua età, cui egli donava il messaggio della Rivelazione cristiana in un linguaggio a lei accessibile.

Roma-Ponte Mammolo, Via Tiburtina 850

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[29] Che il "Pentadius frater" della dedica sia di origine greca, è, a mio parere, provato non soltanto dal nome, ma anche dalla domanda rettorica conclusiva di Epit. 46,8: "Quid ergo speraverint de suis religionibus cumque sua sapientia Graeci, cum videant deos suos, quos eosdem daemonas esse non negant, per crucem ab hominibus triumphari?" Una tale domanda, che viene al termine del capitolo sul "sacramentum crucis", nel quale non vi è alcun accenno nè a Greci nè a Romani, fa evidentemente supporre un interlocutore greco.

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A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA

BY

J. EMILE PFISTER, S.J.

A comparison of the enumeration of the brothers and sisters of St. Gregory of Nyssa (d. *ca.* 395), given by different historians and biographers, shows slight but confusing variations. Thus some authors, in writing the life of the Bishop of Nyssa, count nine and, at times, ten as the total number of children born to Gregory's parents, the elder Basil and Emmelia. Other authors total the number of children as only nine, while still others enumerate ten children – five boys and five girls. This discussion of the biographical material of St. Gregory of Nyssa is an attempt to discover the reason for the differences in the enumeration of the children in the family of his parents and, thereby, to make a contribution to his *vita* by dispelling the confusion in the numeration of the brothers and sisters of the Saint.

The Bollandist Editors in the *Acta Sanctorum* [1] seemed to count only nine children in the family, divided into three groups of three: three bishops, St. Basil, the married St. Gregory, and St. Peter of Sebaste; three daughters, also married; and three unmarried children, St. Macrina the Younger and two others, who "most likely died in the prime of life". But the account in the *Acta Sanctorum* gives two different enumerations of the children in the family of Basil and Emmelia. For after having counted the children as nine, the commentary of the *Acta Sanctorum* notes that Peter was the "tenth and last of the children".[2] It appears that the first mentioned enumeration of three groups of three children has miscounted the married daughters; for there were

[1] *Acta Sanctorum Maii tomus septimus* (Antwerp, 1688) 243B. This is the historical commentary for May 30, the feast day of the saintly spouses, the elder Basil and Emmelia, parents of St. Basil the Great and St. Gregory of Nyssa.

[2] *Ibid.*, 243E; cf. also 242E.

four daughters who were married. And one of the two unmarried children who "died in the prime of life" seems certainly to have been the youthful solitary and celibate, Naucratius.[3] But the commentary in the *Acta Sanctorum* is accurate in its reference to another child who died at an early age. That there was another child, probably a son, who died in infancy and who consequently was not a monk, as Suidas had maintained,[4] is the logical conclusion of a closer examination of various sections of St. Gregory of Nyssa's *De vita Macrinae*,[5] which will be presented later in this essay.

M. L. de Tillemont, in his *Memoirs for an Ecclesiastical History*,[6] recorded the number of children in the family as ten. Also E. Venables, in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*,[7] stated that Gregory was ". . . one of ten children, five of each sex, of Basil, a rhetorician, and his wife, Emmelia, of whom Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, was the eldest and Gregory Nyssen the third or fourth". This reference to Basil as the eldest of the children and to Gregory as the third or fourth child is perplexing. For, in the *De vita Macrinae*, the Bishop of Nyssa himself had clearly indicated that Macrina was the eldest of the children; Basil was born later, and then Naucratius.[8] Consequently Basil could have been only the eldest of the sons; and Gregory must have been the third or fourth son, or the fourth or fifth child.

Other authors, in discussing the family of the elder Basil and Emmelia, have counted only nine children. In the introduction to his edition and translation of St. Gregory of Nyssa's *Catechetical*

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[3] Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Macrinae* (*PG* 46, 965D–968D; *Gregorii Nysseni Opera auxilio aliorum virorum doctorum edenda curavit* W. Jaeger, edit. V. W. Callahan, 8/1 [Leiden, 1952] 378, 9–380, 16). Hereafter the W. Jaeger edition will be referred to by the abbreviation *WJ*.

[4] Cf. Suidas, *Lexicon* (Geneva, 1619) p. 539B: "Basil the Great however had four brothers, Gregory of Nyssa and Peter who were also bishops, and two others who were monks". Suidas counts ten children in the family.

[5] Gregory, *De vita Macrinae* (*PG* 46, 960A–1000B; *WJ* 8/1, 370–414).

[6] M. L. de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles justifiez par les citations* 9 (Venice, 1732) 7.

[7] *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines*, edit. W. Smith and H. Wace, 2 (London, 1880) 761.

[8] Gregory, *op. cit.* (*PG* 46, 960B and 965D; *WJ* 8/1, 371, 15–16 and 378, 9–10).

Oration,[9] Louis Méridier noted that "Gregory himself gives us precise information concerning his family in his *Life of Macrina*". Yet the conclusion that "he had three brothers and five sisters" is not immediately clear. Still more unclear are the two different enumerations given by Aimé Puech in the course of his *History of the Greco-Christian Literature*.[10] In treating the life of St. Basil, he stated that Basil "had four brothers and five sisters" [11] – making a total of ten children in the family. But later, in the section on the life of St. Gregory of Nyssa, A. Puech added: "One recalls that Emmelia and the elder Basil had had, besides a number of daughters, four sons . . .". [12] Since the number of daughters, referred to above, has been clearly stated as five, and by counting the number of sons in the later enumeration as only four, A. Puech, in the course of the same work, accounts for only nine children in the family.

Johannes Quasten in his *Patrology*, where he presented a summary of St. Basil the Great, remarked that "Emmelia . . . gave birth to ten children".[13] But the most accurate presentation of the biographical data, doubtlessly due to his close acquaintance with the source material, was given by W. K. Lowther Clarke in the introduction to his translation of *The Life of St. Macrina:*

> His [Gregory's] parents, Basil and Emmelia, had ten children of whom four sons and five daughters survived infancy. The eldest child, Macrina, is the subject of this biography; the other four daughters all made satisfactory marriages. St. Basil the Great was the eldest son. Next to him came Naucratius, who was killed on a hunting expedition in Pontus. Gregory and Peter, the two youngest sons, became bishops eventually of Nyssa and Sebaste.[14]

A careful examination of the source material in the *De vita Macrinae* reveals that W. K. L. Clarke's enumeration of the

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[9] *Grégoire de Nysse: Discours Catéchétique* (Paris, 1908) p. v.

[10] *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du IVe siècle* 3 (Paris, 1930).

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

[13] *Patrology* 3 (Maryland, 1960) 204.

[14] *St. Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of St. Macrina* (London, 1916) p. 7.

brothers and sisters of St. Gregory of Nyssa is an accurate one. Gregory himself reported that the eldest child of the family was his sister, Macrina, for "she was the earliest born of my mother's womb".[15] The youngest was Peter, later the Bishop of Sebaste, who came into the world just before his father's death. "With him", Gregory wrote, "the mother's pangs [of childbearing] ceased, for he was the latest born of the family".[16] Macrina helped her mother by sharing the responsibilities of raising the large family after the death of her father, the elder Basil. For her mother "had four sons and five daughters, and paid taxes to three different governors, since her property was scattered in as many districts".[17] The other sisters married,[18] and "the second of the four brothers, Naucratius by name, who came after the great Basil", became a solitary in the desert and died an early death as the result of a tragic accident on a hunting trip.[19]

According to Gregory's continuing account in the *De vita Macrinae*, his mother, Emmelia, was persuaded by her daughter-companion, Macrina, after the children were raised and settled in life, to embrace the monastic life. "When the cares of bringing up a family . . . had come to an end, and the property, for the most part, divided among the children, then, as I said above, the life of the virgin became my mother's guide . . .". [20] Also, at this time, upon the death of the father of the family, the paternal inheritance was divided among the "four sons and five daughters", who had been previously mentioned as the elder Basil's survivors. At first sight, this would seem to indicate that there were only nine children in the family.

But a touching and beautiful description of his mother's death, written by St. Gregory of Nyssa in his *De vita Macrinae*, which he composed *ca.* 381–382 shortly after his sister's death, gives us some additional and valuable information:

It was about this time that the mother died . . . yielding

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15 Gregory of Nyssa, *op. cit.* (*PG* 46, 960B; *WJ* 8/1, 371, 15–16; trans. W. Clarke, p. 18).

16 *Ibid.* (*PG* 46, 972B; *WJ* 8/1, 383, 10–13; trans. W. Clarke, p. 36).

17 *Ibid.* (*PG* 46, 965A; *WJ* 8/1, 376, 16–20; trans. W. Clarke, p. 26).

18 *Ibid.* (*PG* 46, 965B; *WJ* 8/1, 377, 7–8).

19 *Ibid.* (*PG* 46, 965D–968D; *WJ* 8/1, 378, 9–380, 16).

20 *Ibid.* (*PG* 46, 969B; *WJ* 8/1, 381, 15–21; trans. W. Clarke, p. 34).

> up her life in the arms of her two children. It is worthwhile to give the words of blessing which she used over her children, mentioning each of the absent ones in loving remembrance .... As these two [i.e., Macrina and Peter] sat by her on each side of the bed, she touched them with her hands and uttered these prayers: "To Thee, O Lord, I give the fruit of my womb, as both first-fruits and tenths. For this, my eldest, is the first-fruit and this, my last born, is the tenth.... Let Thy sanctification descend on this my first and on this my tenth." As she spoke she indicated by gestures her daughter [Macrina] and her son [Peter].[21]

Here Gregory has clearly stated that his mother, Emmelia, had ten children. Yet, in the passage from the *De vita Macrinae* cited earlier, it was stated that the inheritance, after the death of the father, was divided among nine children, "four sons and five daughters". This certainly suggests that, of the ten children to whom Emmelia had given birth, only nine were surviving at the time of their father's death. One of the children, a son, it would seem, must have died at an early age – before his father's death; otherwise the inheritance would have had to be divided into ten, rather than into nine shares.[22] B. J. Kidd gave a sketch of the family tree of the elder Basil and Emmelia which indicated that a second child, a son, born after Macrina and before Basil the Great, had died in infancy.[23] This is a further verification of W. K. L. Clarke's position, referred to above, that of the ten children in the family, "four sons and five daughters survived infancy". St. Basil the Great, then, would have been the oldest surviving son.

This investigation of the question of the number of brothers and sisters of St. Gregory of Nyssa took as its *point de départ* the conflicting enumerations of the children in his family given by different biographers and historians. The main source for this question, Gregory's treatise *De vita Macrinae*, gives a solution to

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[21] *Ibid.* (*PG* 46, 972D–973B; *WJ* 8/1, 384, 18–385, 15; trans. W. Clarke, pp. 38–39).

[22] Cf. M. de Tillemont, *Mémoires* 9, 7.

[23] Cf. *A History of the Church to A. D.* 461 2 (Oxford, 1922) 235, n. 6.

the discrepancy. His mother, Emmelia, herself declared that she had had ten children. But the division of the inheritance at the time of the elder Basil's death was among nine children. This certainly leads to the conclusion, also arrived at by W. K. L. Clarke, that nine children survived infancy. Other indications, also mentioned above, established that the original number of children was ten, five of each sex. Since the five daughters have been accounted for – Macrina, the virgin and also the eldest child, and the four others who married – the child who died in infancy would seem to have been a son, born after Macrina and before Basil. By granting that Naucratius was the son next to Basil in the line of children, this would make St. Gregory of Nyssa the fourth son, or the third surviving son of the family at the time of his father's death.

On the basis of this distinction between children and surviving children, the citations of the various authors and historians, mentioned above, become intelligible. For those who count the number of Basil and Emmelia's children as nine intend, by that, nine children who survived infancy and their father's death. On the other hand, those biographers who enumerate ten children in the family understand, by ten, the total number of children born to the parents of St. Gregory of Nyssa, the elder Basil and Emmelia.

Woodstock (Maryland), Woodstock College

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THE DATE OF MAXIMUS OF TURIN'S SERMO XVIII

BY

OTTO MAENCHEN-HELFEN

In the introduction to her edition of Maximus' sermons, Almut Mutzenbecher proved beyond reasonable doubt that the date of the bishop's death as given by Gennadius is correct; Maximus died "Honorio et Theodosio iuniore regnantibus", i.e., between 408 and 423. The sermons themselves contain practically no clues for dates. The few sermons to which Mutzenbecher tentatively assigns dates seem to have been delivered in the very last years of the fourth and the first decade of the fifth centuries. If I am not mistaken, sermo xviii, Sequentia de avaritia et de Anania, contains two indications which permit the determination of the exact date at which it was delivered.

Maximus does not preach against greed in general but specifically against the greed of the merchants who transacted the most sordid business with the barbarians swarming over the countryside. Jewelry and silk garments looted from Roman homes found eager Roman buyers. Captive farm lads were sold by the barbarians and bought for a song by Roman dealers. Maximus compares them to the wolves which follow the lion and devour what he leaves. "Sed forsitan emisse te dicis et ideo auaritiae crimen euadis. Non ita solet constare emptio atque uenditio. Bonum est emere, sed in pace quod propria uoluntate uenditur, non in depraedatione quod raptum est. Respice contractus originem uenditionis auctorem praetii quantitatem et intelligis te praedae magis esse socium non uenditionis emptorem. Vnde enim barbaro auri gemmarumque monilia? Vnde pellito serica uestimenta? Vnde, rogo, Romana mancipia? Scimus ea conprouincialium nostrorum esse uel ciuium". And again: "Ecce senex pater captum deflet filium, et tu iam super eum uelut seruulum gloriaris... Dic mihi, o christiane, non conpungeris, non constringeris, cum uides in hospitio tuo lacrimas alienas?"[1]

[1] CC Series latina XXIII, 68–69.

An edict preserved in the Sirmondian institutions [2] dates the sermon to the fall or winter 408. Issued at Ravenna on December 3, 408, the law orders persons redeemed from captivity either to restore the price or, if they were paupers, to serve their purchasers for five years. "No one shall detain against their will persons of different provinces, of whatever sex, status, or age, who have been led away by an excursion of barbarian savagery under the compulsion of captivity . . . But exception should be made of persons who are proved to have been purchased from barbarian vendors. It is fitting that such persons should either restore their purchase price to the purchasers or should render recompense for the favor by their labor, subservience, or services during a period of five years."

This is exactly to what Maximus' sermo refers: Roman captives sold by barbarians to Romans. The bishop concluded his sermon with the words: "Facit ergo ut christianus et ciuis qui ideo emit ut reddat". The imperial government sided with the scum of the merchant class.

The barbarians are "pelliti". All northern barbarians were at one time or another called pelliti, but in the fifth century pellitus is almost synonymous with Goth, cf. Rutilius Namatianus 2, 2, 9 (satellites pelliti); Sidonius ep. 5, 7, 4; 7, 9, 19. Ricimer was pellitus Geta, Ennodius, Vita Epiphanii c. 67. The Goths on the obelisk in Constantinople wear fur coats.[3]

Stilicho was executed on August 22, 408. His fall was the signal for the Roman soldiers to massacre the wives and children of the barbarian auxiliaries serving in Italy. "Incensed by the treacherous slaughter", the barbarian soldiers assembled from all quarters. They all resolved to join Alaric in his war against Rome. Thirty-thousand men "fixed themselves in whatever place they pleased" (Zosimus V, 35 ,6, ed. Mendelssohn p. 263). The barbarians of Maximus' sermon were in all probability those who had gone over to the Visigoth and pellita Getarum curia (Claudian, Bell. Goth. 481–482).

Berkeley (California)

[2] Const. Sirmond. 16, English translation by C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code* (Princeton, 1952), 486. A fragment of it in Cod. Theodos. 5, 7, 2.

[3] G. Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel* (Istanbul, 1935), 40, fig. 43.

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REVIEWS

Pierre Prigent, *L'Épître de Barnabé I–XVI et ses sources* (Études Bibliques. Les testimonia dans le christianisme primitif). Paris, Librairie Lecoffre, J. Gallada et Cie, 1961. Pp. 240.

This book, published in the invaluable Études Bibliques series, is an important study of the use of Old Testament Testimonies in the early Church. The author provides a careful survey of Testimony theories from the pioneer work of K. A. Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften* (1838), to the present time and shows that many phenomena point to the presence of *testimonia* behind early Christian literature. The author then analyses in detail Ep. Barnabas 1–16 and suggests that the following sources may be detected behind these chapters:

1) Anti-cultic O. T. Sources such as Barn. 2–3 (on sacrifice and fasts); 9.5 (circumcision); 4. 7–8 and 14. 1–3 (covenant); 15. 1–2 (sabbath); 16. 1–3 (the Temple). These *testimonia* are not anti-Jewish but anti-cultic and, according to M. Prigent, came originally from a single collection made in Syria which bears some kind of relationship to St. Stephen's speech in Acts 7.

2) O.T. ritual laws and episodes which have been allegorically interpreted to yield a Christian meaning along the lines of the Rabbinical midrashim. These include Barn. 7 (the Day of Atonement); 8 (the Red Heifer and the sprinkling of the ashes); 9 (the circumcision of Abraham's household); 10 (the Food Laws); 12 (Moses and Joshua); and 13 (the two nations in Rebecca's womb).

3) O.T. testimonies which have been given a Messianic application and which are supposed to pre-figure the passion and resurrection of Jesus. M. Prigent divides these into Christological (so 5.2, 12–14; 6.1, 2–4, 6–7; 8.5; 12.1, 4) and Universalistic (so 12. 10–11 and 14.6). He believes that the Epistle's Christology is essentially docetic.

4) Other source material which includes references to the apocalyptic literature, targums and the "Two Ways" tradition which is found also at Qumran and in the Didache.

This analysis of the O.T. source material behind Ep. Barnabas, while depending heavily on the earlier work of *H. Windisch, Der Barnabasbrief* (1920), is of great value and the present reviewer regrets that the manuscript of his Commentary on the Greek text of this Epistle (to be published by Kemink & Zoon, Utrecht) was complete before M. Prigent's work came to his notice. Nevertheless the very nature of this analysis lends itself to criticism and the following points are tentatively put forward:

1) The use of the term *anti-cultic* is misleading: While it is

true that certain Jewish circles (e.g. Qumran) were critical of the Jerusalem cultus, in Ep. Barnabas we have a wholesale criticism of Judaism *per se*. Thus Barn. 3.6 likens conversion of Christians to Judaism to being shipwrecked. Barn. 4.7 (cf. 14.3) states that the Jews lost the covenant when Moses cast the tables out of his hands. In 5.11 it is said that the Son of God came in the flesh to complete the total of the sins of those who persecuted the prophets to death. 13.1 reads "Now let us see whether this people or the former people is the heir, and whether the covenant is for us or for them". (note especially ἡμᾶς and ἐκείνους). Many other texts could be quoted which show unmistakably that the *sitz-im-leben* of the Epistle is one in which some Christians were in danger of falling back into Judaism. The writer of Barnabas regards this as a calamity from which his community must be saved.

2) While a Jewish polemical tone is not so evident in the sections which M. Prigent believes are allegorical interpretations along the lines of the Rabbinical midrashim, it is not entirely absent: thus 8.7, "And for this reason the things which were thus done are plain to us, but obscure to them, because they did not hear the Lord's voice."

3) M. Prigent's description of the Christology of Barn. 5 as docetic is open to serious objection. It is true that the writer is not a logical orthodox theologian. Yet there is nothing in his Epistle to suggest that the fleshly Incarnation and suffering of Christ were only in appearance. On the contrary this chapter constantly emphasises that Jesus was manifested in the flesh and endured as a figure of flesh and blood (so 5.1, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13) and the same is true of Barn. 6–8. M. Prigent's interpretation of Barn. 12.10 is particularly forced.

4) This analysis of miscellaneous source material is of value.

The above observations are made, not in a spirit of carping criticism, but to illustrate the complexity of the problems which this Epistle presents to the modern investigator. M. Prigent's work is of great value in suggesting that there is no *one* solution to the problem of the source material behind this Epistle. On the other hand pre-occupation with sources can blind one to the fact that the Epistle, *as we have it now*, is a unity. Thus I would not agree that the passages Barn. 4. 3–5 and 16. 3–4 are of no special value for the dating of the Epistle. The fact that earlier sources lie behind these passages does not alter the fact that *for the writer they had a special significance* [1]. Furthermore I think that M. Prigent places too much emphasis on a Syrian *milieu* for the Epistle and its alleged connexions with the Odes of Solomon,

[1] Perhaps I may be permitted to refer to my article in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology Vol. 44 (1958) pp. 101–7.

Ascension of Isaiah and the Gospel of Peter. There is a very strong literary connexion between Barnabas and Alexandria (where the earliest quotations occur) and the fact that the Epistle closely reflects the tradition of Aristobulus, Aristeas, Philo and later Clement and Origen should be given weight in any consideration of the Epistle's *milieu*.

The author is to be congratulated on his scholarly and stimulating work which is enriched by a full bibliography and index of citations.

Winchester, All Saints Rectory L. W. BARNARD

Origène, Homélies sur St. Luc. Introduction, traduction et notes par H. Crouzel, s.j., F. Fournier, s.j., P. Perichon, s.j. (Sources Chrétiennes, No. 87). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1962. 566 pp. in–8°. Pr. 33,00 NF+T.L.

At present one of the most vexing difficulties for the student of patristic literature is the impossibility to acquire by far the greater part of the volumes of the edition of Origen in the series of the *Griechische christliche Schriftsteller* of the Berlin Academy; moreover, as it seems, their gradual reprinting will still take a considerable amount of time. We have, therefore, every reason to be grateful to the directors of the "Sources Chrétiennes" for their energy in providing us with editions of separate works of this extremely important author (cf. my review of the edition in this series of the sermons on Josuah, Vig. Christ. 16 (1962), pp. 241–244). It is to be hoped that they will soon reprint, together with Rufinus' Latin text, the French translations of the sermons on Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, which were published as nrs. 7, 16 and 29 of this collection.

The present volume, which offers St. Jerome's translation of the sermons on the Gospel of Luke, reproduces without alterations (cf. the Preface, p. 91) the second edition of Rauer's text in the Berlin Corpus (one of the very few parts of this edition which is now available). However, the text has been arranged more conveniently by the introduction of a division of the single sermons into paragraphs, and the insertion of sub-titles in the French translation.

St Jerome's Latin version with its French translation is followed by a judicious choice of 91 Greek fragments, which have also been translated into French. It is generally known that the question, which fragments can be attributed to Origen with a reasonable amount of certainty, is a particularly complicated one (cf. the exposition in the Preface, pp. 89–90, and in the introduction to the Greek fragments, pp. 461–463). Wherever the fragments correspond with both St. Jerome's translation and St. Ambrose's

commentary on the Gospel of Luke, all doubt is excluded; the same holds good, when they tally with St. Jerome's translation alone, whereas in the case of a correspondence with St. Ambrose alone there is the possibility that they belong to a longer redaction of the original text which the latter author, but not St. Jerome, had at his disposal. When no correspondence with either of these works can be stated, the situation becomes highly problematic: in such cases there is a possibility that we have before us a fragment, not of Origen's *sermons* on the Gospel of Luke, but of his *quinque tomi in Lucam*, which are mentioned by St. Jerome in the preface of his translation of the sermons, and of which nothing has been preserved; it is, however, equally possible that such fragments belong to the literature of exegetic *catenae*, in which case, even if they bear the mark of Origin's thought, they cannot be regarded as authentic. In his first edition of the present text, Rauer was undoubtedly too generous in his attribution of such fragments to Origen's sermons on Luke; in the second edition, he lowered the number to 257, which, however, is still too much, since he included several passages which belong to Eusebius, Cyrillus of Alexandria, and St. Basil (cf. the list in the introduction, pp. 461–462). The present edition offers a choice of 91 certain fragments which is characterized by the editors as "plus un receuil de morceaux choisis qu'une édition complète des scolies d'Origène sur l'évangile de Luc". In view of the amount of space which would have been needed for a thorough examination of this enigmatic material, this seems to be a wise decision; at all events, a comparison of the present choice with Rauer's collection has shown to me that the most important authentic fragments have been included.

The French translation has been made with the utmost care; moreover, it is eminently readable. The same holds good for the numerous notes (especially interesting is a note on correspondences between Origen and Tertullian, p. 226, n. 2). The introduction is opened by a short bibliography; next comes a special treatise by Father Crouzel: "La théologie mariale d'Origène" (pp. 11–64), whereas in the last part ("Les *Homélies sur Luc* et leur traduction par saint Jérôme", pp.65–92) Father Fournier gives a full discussion of the problems concerning St. Jerome's methods as a translator and, further, St. Ambrose's dependence on Origen in his *Expositio evangelii Lucae*, a dependence described in strikingly unpleasant terms by St. Jerome at the end of his prologue *(praesertim cum a sinistro oscinem corvum audiam crocitantem, et mirum in modum de cunctarum avium ridere (=splendere) coloribus, cum totus ipse tenebrosus sit)*. In this context some remarkable pages (70–74) are devoted to the question of St. Ambrose's exegetical methods and the range of his knowledge, a subject which, thanks in the first place to Professor Courcelle's illuminating investigations, is now

considerably clearer than it was fifteen years ago (on p. 72, n. 5, we find a reference to the *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin*, pp. 106 ss., but several more papers by the same author, as also by A. Solignac and L. Taormina, might have been quoted; cf. the recent bibliography in Professor Courcelle's paper *L'humanisme chrétien de St. Ambroise*, Orpheus 9 (1962), pp. 21–34). Having touched upon this subject I would like to put forward one simple observation: I wonder occasionally why nowadays so little attention is paid to the well-known fact that St. Ambrose used to draw largely on Philo's treatises: from this fact, much material on which was already collected in the nineteenth century, it is obvious that his knowledge of Greek must have been considerable, at all events greatly superior to that of St. Augustine, and this, in its turn, allows us to infer that he must have been perfectly capable of reading Plotinus and Porphyry in the original. It is, of course, quite possible that he was acquainted with translations of parts of the Enneads by Marius Victorinus but there is no necessity to assume that his knowledge of Plotinus was limited to the treatises translated by this author.

On p. 73 Father Fournier raises a highly interesting point which is best reported in his own words: "Il y aurait d'ailleurs un travail intéressant à entreprendre, mais qui dépasse le cadre de cette introduction: comparer le texte grec d'Origène, quand il existe, dans l'édition Rauer du Corpus de Berlin, avec le commentaire d'Ambroise, d'une part, et la traduction latine que Jérôme donne des *Homélies sur Luc*, d'autre part." It is to be hoped that this work will soon be undertaken, preferably by Father Fournier himself; an important contribution to the fulfilling of this task is already given in the list of correspondences between St. Ambrose's *Expositio* and the Latin translation as well as the Greek fragments of Origen's sermons on pp. 563–564.

For reasons of space, we have been obliged to limit ourselves to a discussion of the most interesting questions connected with this fascinating text. Let us finish by underlining that the three editors deserve our thanks, because they have not only provided us with an excellent translation, introduction and annotation, but also because they continuously give suggestions for work still to be done. The result of their combined efforts shows once more that a deepening of the study of Origen is perhaps the most vital task of patristic studies in our era.

Leiden, Witte Singel 91 J. H. WASZINK

Piero Rollero, *La « Expositio evangelii secundum Lucan » di Ambrogio come fonte della esegesi agostiniana* (Università di Torino. Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, X, 4). Torino, 1958. Pp. 160. Pr. L. 1200.

L'influence d'Ambroise sur Augustin, bien qu'elle ne soit mise en doute par personne, nous est encore mal connue quant à son ampleur, son importance, sa nature précise. De récentes découvertes, sur ce point, ont même procuré de grandes surprises. Mais il reste encore un long chemin à faire; l'heure est aux monographies sur des points de détails et non encore aux vastes synthèses. Or dans le genre des monographies, le livre de M. Rollero est un véritable modèle.

Dans son édition (1902) de l'*Expositio evangelii secundum Lucan*, C. Schenkl avait déjà noté les citations explicites de cette oeuvre qui se trouvent chez Augustin. H. J. Vogels, dans son étude (1908) sur le *De consensu evangelistarum* d'Augustin, était allé déjà plus loin: il a reconnu, dans *in Lucan*, l'une des sources du *De consensu*, et cela malgré l'absence de toute référence explicite. Le même auteur avait constaté, également, qu'Ambroise a été parfois l'intermédiaire entre Origène et Augustin. Depuis, un certain nombre d'études sur Ambroise et Augustin ont mis en lumière des points parfois fort intéressants, mais aucun de ces travaux ne concernait directement l'important *in Lucan*. C'était une lacune. L'intérêt qu'a cette oeuvre d'Ambroise pour l'exégèse augustinienne saute aux yeux à la lumière de quelques chiffres: chez Augustin, l'on compte 213 citations explicites d'Ambroise, dont plus d'un tiers (77) tirées de l'*in Lucan*. Ce livre est même seul à être cité — de façon explicite, bien entendu — jusqu'en 418. Toutefois, ces chiffres donnent encore une idée incomplète de l'influence de ce commentaire d'Ambroise sur l'exégèse augustinienne. D'autres citations, pourtant textuelles, sont parfois attribuées vaguement à *quidam* ou, si elles ne sont pas entièrement anonymes, introduites par *quaeri solet* ou des formules analogues. Augustin a même parfois profondément transformé la pensée sous-jacente d'Ambroise. La longue liste des passages parallèles qui termine le livre de R. montre bien à quel point l'influence de l'*in Lucan* sur Augustin a dépassé les 77 citations explicites que l'on trouve chez lui. A l'école d'Ambroise, qu'il écoutait prêcher à Milan, Augustin a appris l'éloquence chrétienne, la forme homélitique de l'exégèse et sa méthode « spirituelle » (l'interprétation de l'Ecriture par l'Ecriture, la recherche des *sacramenta* cachés dans la Bible, l'exploitation du *sacramentum* par excellence: l'accord des deux Testaments).

Pourtant, Augustin n'a pas été un élève servilement docile. Dans ces oeuvres successives, son indépendance par rapport à sa source est allée en s'accentuant. Il lui est même arrivé de critiquer

Ambroise ouvertement. Il y a, dans ce sens, une différence à constater entre, d'une part, le *De sermone Domini in monte*, les *Quaestiones Evangeliorum*, le *De consensu evangelistarum*, et, de l'autre, les plus tardifs *Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelium* et quelques Sermons. Cette attitude critique, peut-être partiellement inspirée par Jérôme, l'a amené à faire des approfondissements sur des points importants et à se référer à d'autres auteurs également.

Après ces excellentes précisions, une question demeure entière. Entre 413 et 418, on rencontre les premières citations explicites de l'*in Lucan*; entre 418 et 430 se situe le reste des 213 citations explicites ambrosiennes. Pourquoi, après l'absence du nom d'Ambroise jusqu'en 413, ce foisonnement après la même date, notamment dans les textes anti-pélagiens? L'auteur est resté muet sur ce point. Il nous semble qu'il y aurait une recherche intéressante à faire sur cette question.

Nous croyons qu'en parlant du *De sermone Domini in monte*, l'auteur s'est laissé entraîner sur un terrain qui, visiblement, n'est pas (encore) le sien. L'absence, dans la bibliographie, des travaux de F. Cayré, E. Hendrikx et C. van Lierde sur la mystique augustinienne et les dons du Saint-Esprit, font d'ailleurs déjà soupçonner une lacune dans son information. A propos des Béatitudes, R. oppose le caractère *ascétique* de la doctrine de Grégoire de Nysse, d'*Ambroise*, de Chrysostome, de Léon le Grand et de Bernard de Clairvaux, au caractère « proprement *mystique* » de celle d'Augustin, les premiers regardant les Béatitudes comme des *vertus*, le dernier comme des *dons* divins (p. 22). Plus loin (pp. 41–42), nous apprenons que le caractère mystique de la doctrine d'Augustin sur les Béatitudes remonterait, en partie, au néo-platonisme, et cela . . . par l'intermédiaire d'Ambroise. N'est-ce pas étrange? La doctrine d'Ambroise sur ce point n'a-t-elle pas été qualifiée d'ascétique et non pas mystique? Et est-il vrai que là où il y a don divin, il y a mystique? Les vertus chrétiennes elles-mêmes, ne sont-elles pas des dons divins?

Toujours par rapport aux Béatitudes, nous lisons, à la p. 31: la promesse prononcée par le Christ par rapport à la première Béatitude est la perfection *naturelle* de l'âme rationnelle: *In primo, sicut oportebat, positum est regnum caelorum, quod est perfecta summaque sapientia animae rationalis.* Mais au septième degré s'achève l'élévation à l'ordre *surnaturel.* Nous lisons, en effet: *Pacificis Dei similitudo, tanquam perfecte sapientibus formatisque ad imaginem Dei.* Ici, à un terme philosophique, s'unit intimement une expression typiquement biblique . . .

En disant cela, l'auteur pense à *ad imaginem Dei.* Mais *regnum caelorum*, expression employée à propos de la première Béatitude, est également typiquement biblique, nous semble-t-il.

Les exposés sur le caractère mystique des Béatitudes chez Augustin et sur le degré progressif de leur caractère surnaturel

sont nettement disparates. Ces incohérences marquent bien les limites de cette étude, par ailleurs si bonne. Très solide, quand il s'agit de montrer des influences littérales et même des influences doctrinales simples, elle trahit un manque d'expérience dès qu'il s'agit de traiter des problèmes plus fondamentaux.

Paris XV, 159, rue de Javel LUC–M. VERHEIJEN o.s.a.

A. J. H. van Weegen, *Preek en Dictaat bij Sint Augustinus. Syntactisch-stylistische studie over de Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelium*. Nijmegen–Utrecht, Dekker & Van de Vegt, s.d. Pp. 166. Pr. fl. 8.90.

Depuis bientôt cinquante ans, les augustinistes se trouvent intrigués par des différences entre les 54 premiers *Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelium* et les 70 autres, différences dont quelquesunes sautent aux yeux dès la première lecture. Dom J. Huyben a été le premier à supposer que la série I–LIV a été réellement prononcée devant l'assemblé chrétienne, tandis que les *Tractatus* LV–CXXIV y auraient été ajoutés plus tard, par écrit seulement. Mais, dernièrement encore, M. Le Landais a soutenu que la deuxième série a été réellement prêchée, comme la première. Que faut-il croire?

Dans son *De Trinitate* XV, 27, 48, Augustin lui-même fournit la clef de la solution du problème. Parlant de l'un des *Tractatus* de la deuxième série (XCIX), il dit: *sufficiat interim . . . id quod de hac re in sermone quodam proferendo ad aures populi christiani diximus, dictumque conscripsimus*. Malheureusement, cette phrase se laisse interpréter, aussi bien dans le sens de la thèse de Dom Huyben que dans celui de l'opinion opposée. Aussi l'auteur de la présente étude estime-t-il que l'explication de ce texte doit suivre, et non pas précéder, les recherches sur les *Tractatus* LV–CXXIV.

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Review Author[s]:
Luc-M. Verheijen

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Sermons; dans la deuxième série, la proportion est de 1:1. Quand on a parcouru la longue liste des arguments réunis par l'auteur, il est difficile de lui donner tort: les différences entre les deux séries sont remarquables, sans aucun doute, et les conclusions vont toujours dans le même sens . . .

Evidemment, la question reste de savoir pourquoi Augustin a changé de méthode et quelles considérations, ou quelles circonstances extérieures, ont pu l'amener à terminer sa prédication sur l'Evangile de saint Jean. Si nous voyons bien, M. v. W. ne s'étend nulle part sur ce problème.

Il nous est resté un deuxième point d'interrogation. L'auteur a divisé son étude en une « partie syntaxique » et une « partie stylistique ». La différence de proportion entre l'emploi du type *dico te venisse* et celui du type *dico quia (quod) venisti* a été signalée dans la partie syntaxique. Mais ne serait-elle pas d'ordre stylistique? S'agit-il, dans toute cette partie de l'étude, d'autre chose que de style? On aimerait savoir si cette disposition de la matière correspond, chez l'auteur, à une conception particulière sur la nature du style, mais c'est en vain que l'on cherche des précisions sur ce point.

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William A. Schumacher, *Spiritus and Spiritualis. A Study in the Sermons of Saint Augustine* (Pontificia Facultas Theologica Seminarii Sanctae Mariae ad Lacum, Dissertationes ad Lauream, 28). Mundelein (Ill.), Saint Mary of the Lake Seminary, 1957. XII, 236 pp.

Malgré quelques réserves sérieuses que nous aurons à formuler, nous estimons que ce livre est remarquable. L'auteur présente sa publication comme une étude sur les Sermons de saint Augustin. Par Sermons il comprend, d'abord, les *Sermones* édités comme tels par les Mauristes, et les suppléments que Morin et d'autres y ont ajoutés. Mais son étude englobe également les *Tractatus in Evang. Joan.*, les *Tractatus in Epist. Joan.* et les *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. C'est donc sur une partie considérable de l'œuvre d'Augustin que l'auteur a fondé ses recherches. D'autre part, cette partie de l'œuvre s'étend sur une période aussi longue qu'importante de la vie d'Augustin. Et S. ne s'est même pas restreint à ce cadre déjà large: le cas échéant, il a cherché des compléments d'information dans les autres œuvres de son auteur. Dans ces circonstances, il est probable que très peu d'essentiel sur « *spiritus* et *spiritualis* chez Augustin » manque dans cette étude. Remarquons, en passant, que S. a fait abstraction de tous les textes où Augustin parle de l'Esprit-Saint. Il serait difficile de dire en quelques mots

quels ont été les résultats de ces recherches. A la fin du livre, l'auteur lui-même les a résumés brièvement, mais ces quelques lignes assez sèches ne suffisent pas pour donner une idée adéquate de la richesse renfermée dans ce livre. Disons plutôt que S. a longuement médité sur les idées exprimées par les mots *spiritus* et *spiritualis* (ou *spiritalis*) et autour de ces mots; finalement, il a voulu donner une présentation systématisée de cette masse de pensée augustinienne.

Mais, comme nous l'avons dit, nous avons aussi quelques sérieuses réserves à signaler.

A la fin du livre, il y a un Index des passages où se trouvent les deux mots en question. Excellente idée, sans aucun doute. Malheureusement, cet Index est très mal fait. S. ne distingue pas entre *spiritus* et *spirit(u)alis*. Sans avertissement, il ajoute même un troisième mot: *spirit(u)aliter*. Que l'auteur ait examiné les passages où se trouve l'adverbe, nous l'applaudissons; c'est la présentation chaotique de l'Index qui nous paraît contestable. Puis, quand on lit p.e. que, dans CCL 36, à la page 83, se trouve un emploi de ces deux (ou plutôt trois) mots, on risque fort d'en rencontrer, non pas un, mais plusieurs, à l'endroit indiqué. On risque fort, aussi, d'en trouver encore un ou deux à la page 84. Enfin, la liste donnée présente bien des fautes. Quelques exemples: p. 220, col. 2: lire 33 au lieu de 34; p. 221, col. 2: 253 manque; p. 222, col. 1: lire 99,7 au lieu de 99,2; ib., col. 2: ajouter 598 entre 596 et 601. Il serait facile de prolonger cette liste.

Dans les références, au bas des pages, se trouvent également beaucoup de fautes. Deux exemples: p. 161, n. 135, lire 255 au lieu de 252; p. 207, n. 228, lire 15, 14, au lieu de 15,4.

Troisième observation: dans cette masse de Sermons manque étrangement le *De fide et symbolo*, sermon dans lequel il y a précisément, à propos de la *resurrectio carnis*, un exposé systématique sur *spiritus* et *spirit(u)alis* et leurs opposées. S. connaît bien ce texte (v. p.42, n. 91) mais il ne fait pas partie de sa documentation proprement dite et l'auteur ne l'exploite pas dans son exposé, à ce qu'il nous semble.

Enfin, l'auteur oppose bien trop fort et inutilement sa méthode dite théologique aux méthodes philologiques qu'il a rencontrées ailleurs. Il s'en explique brièvement dans la première note du ch. V. Nous nous permettons de la citer intégralement: « Christine Mohrmann outlines definite classifications of Augustine's use of *spiritualis* and *carnalis* (*Altchristliche Sondersprache*, pp. 87–90 and 154–157). However, these divisions are based upon grammatical and philological, rather than upon theological, criteria, and consequently their undoubted scholarship cannot aid us in our task. Mohrmann's work emphasizes the grammar and syntax involved in Augustine's use of these words, not the theological connotations. Often our classifications will correspond to a degree with this

author's; such correlation should not be taken as an indication of dependance upon these philological discussions ». Dans les passages indiqués, C.M. groupe, autour de *caro: carnalis* adj., *carnaliter*, *carnalis* subst., *carnalia*, *carnalitas*, *carneus*; et, autour de *spiritus: spirit(u)alis* adj., *spirit(u)aliter* et *spirit(u)alis* subst. Nous pensons que S. aurait eu avantage à laisser ses mots dans leur groupe lexicologique. Comment peut-il dire que ces pages mettent l'accent sur les implications grammaticales et syntaxiques de l'emploi de *spiritus* et *spirit(u)alis* chez Augustin? Je crois qu'un philologue a ici le droit de reprocher au théologien l'emploi de quelques très grands mots. L'auteur a voulu systématiser tout ce qui, chez Augustin, est évoqué par *spiritus* et *spirit(u)alis* et, répétons-le, c'était une très bonne idée. Mais ce qui est évoqué s'exprime non pas seulement dans des *phrases* lourdes de pensée, mais se cristallise aussi dans des *mots* très précis, synonymes et antithèses (au sens précis ou large de ces termes) de *spiritus* et *spirit(u)alis*. Le travail de S. aurait beaucoup gagné en netteté lexicologique et valeur, s'il avait dressé à la fin une liste commentée de ces mots. Il aurait eu à y signaler les termes énumérés par C.M. et encore quelques autres, moins essentiellement liés à *sp. Spirit(u)alis* se rencontre p.e. comme synonyme de *divinus*, *aeternus* et *latens*, et comme antithèse de *naturalis* (d'après *Tr. in Ev. Joan.* 123,5; si nous ne nous trompons pas, S. ne signale nulle part ce dernier rapprochement). Il aurait été intéressant, également, d'avoir un aperçu des (principaux) substantifs qui se trouvent déterminés par l'adjectif *spirit(u)alis* (comme *regeneratio*, *lux*, *intellectus*) et des (principaux) verbes déterminés par *spirit(u)aliter* (comme *observare*, *loqui*, *adesse*). Ces listes, et d'autres du même genre, n'auraient pas modifié les conclusions de l'auteur, mais elles leur auraient donné un complément lexicologique bien appréciable. Somme toute, nous estimons que, dans un travail de ce genre, le théologien, ou plutôt l'historien de la pensée, et le philologue peuvent se compléter et que l'absence, voire l'exclusion, de l'un des deux est dommageable pour toute recherche sur le vocabulaire d'un auteur.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

(The inclusion of a book in this list, which contains all books received by the editors, does not guarantee its subsequent review.)

Milton Perry Brown, The Authentic Writings of Ignatius. A Study of Linguistic Criteria (Duke Studies in Religion, II). Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1963. Pp. XVI, 159. Pr. $ 7.50.

Cyrille d'Alexandrie, Deux dialogues christologiques. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par G.-M. de Durand, o.p. (Sources Chrétiennes, 97). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1964. Pp. 548. Pr. Fr. 45.–.

A. Hamman, O.F.M., La prière, II: Les trois premiers siècles (Bibliothèque de théologie). Paris-Tournai-New-York-Rome, Desclée & Co., 1963. Pp. 384.

Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum. Catalogum vocum in libris Patrum qui dicuntur Apostolici non raro occurrentium adiuvante Ursula Früchtel congessit contulit conscripsit Henricus Kraft. München, Kösel Verlag, 1963. Pp. VIII, 501.

Origène, Homélies sur S. Luc. Texte latin et fragments grecs. Introduction, traduction et notes par Henri Crouzel, s.j., François Fournier, s.j., Pierre Périchon, s.j. (Sources Chrétiennes, 87). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1962. Pp. 565. Pr. Fr. 33.–.

Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ, Συγγράμματα. Ἐκδίδονται ἐπιμελείαι Παναγιώτου Κ. Χρήστου. Τόμος Α'. Λόγοι ἀποδεικτικοί. Ἀντεπιγραφαί. Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἀκίνδυνον. Ὑπὲρ ἡσυχαζόντων. Ἐκδίδουν B. Bobrinsky, *Π. Παπαευαγγέλου*, I. Meyendorff, *Π. Χρήστου. Θεσσαλονίκη* 1962. Pp. 745. Pr. $ 12.–.

Casimir Romaniuk, Les chemins de l'exégèse du Nouveau Testament. Guide pratique pour les travaux personnels des étudiants. Le Puy–Lyon, Editions Xavier Mappus, [1963]. Pp. 69. Pr. Fr. 3.70.

Bibliographia Patristica. Internationale patristische Bibliographie. Herausgegeben von W. Schneemelcher. VI: Die Erscheinungen des Jahres 1961. Berlin 30, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1963. Pp. XXXIV, 98. Pr. DM 23.–.

Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Catéchèses. Introduction, texte critique et notes par Mgr. Basile Krivochéine, traduction par Joseph Paramelle, s.j. Tome I: Introduction et Catéchèses 1–5 (Sources Chrétiennes, 96). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1963. Pp. 470. Pr. Fr. 38.70.

Q. S. F. Tertulliani Adversus Iudaeos. Mit Einleitung und kritischem Kommentar herausgegeben von Hermann Tränkle. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964. Pp. CXXVIII, 121.

Marius Victorinus, Traités théologiques sur la Trinité. I: Texte établi par Paul Henry. Introduction, traduction et notes par Pierre Hadot. II: Commentaire par Pierre Hadot (Sources Chrétiennes, 68/69). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1960. Pp. 1160. Pr. Fr. 49.50.

Sylloge Inscriptionum Christianarum Veterum Musei Vaticani. Ediderunt commentariisque instruxerunt Sodales Instituti Romani Finlandiae curante Henrico Zilliacus. 1: Textus. 2: Commentarii (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, vol. I:1/2). Helsinki 1963. Pp. XX, 316; XI, 249. Pr. F.Mk 50.–.

Vigiliae Christianae 18 (1964) 129—143; *North-Holland Publishing Co.*

TERTULLIANEA

BY

P. G. VAN DER NAT

II.* The Structure of the De Spectaculis

The nature of Tertullian's writings is closely related to his personality. He was sharp-witted but not an abstract thinker, and before everything else a practical man. The themes of his writings have all been suggested by practical life. Besides, being a man of a highly aggressive temper, he nearly always writes in order to dispute, not to theorize.[1] Naturally, this has also strongly affected the structure of his works. It is clearly illustrated by the treatise 'On the Spectacles'. However, the analyses of this work which have been given thus far have failed to bring it out.

Boulanger [2] thinks that the whole demonstration can be reduced to three arguments, each of which would be sufficient by itself to

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* For the first of these studies see Vigiliae Christianae 18 (1964), 14/31.

[1] This holds good not only for the apologetic writings but even for a work like the *De anima*, on which J. H. Waszink justly remarks in his edition (Amsterdam 1947), p. 7*: "it is evident that the entire controversy with pagan philosophy is primarily subservient to the purpose of attacking the foundations of heresies; when analysing the ideas expressed in *De anima*, we should never lose sight of this fact. It is for this reason that the usual qualification of *De anima* as 'the first Christian psychology' is apt to call up false associations, for this work is not in the first place a scientific treatise but a refutation of heretical doctrines about the soul: together with *De carne Christi* and *De resurrectione mortuorum* it belongs to the same group as the treatises *Adversus Hermogenem*, *Adversus Marcionem*, and *Adversus Praxean*." The same conclusion is arrived at by A. J. Festugière in his paper *La composition et l'esprit du De anima de Tertullien*, Rev. sc. philos. et théol. 33 (1949), p. 129/61: "le *De anima* n'est pas un traité philosophique sur l'âme, composé à tête froide, et dans la seule vue de trouver le vrai. Tertullien est toujours en lutte, soucieux d'écraser un adversaire ou de défendre les positions chrétiennes; il choisit donc ses arguments au petit bonheur selon les besoins de l'occasion" (p. 161).

[2] *Tertullien De spectaculis suivi de Pseudo-Cyprien De spectaculis.* Texte établi par A. Boulanger (Publications de la faculté de lettres de l'université de Strasbourg, Textes d'étude, 1; Paris 1933), p. 13/4. 36/7.

justify the interdiction of the spectacles. According to him Tertullian successively argues from the positions of Faith, Truth, and Morals, as is clearly indicated in the first sentence of the treatise,[3] and puts forward that (1) the Bible forbids this kind of entertainment, (2) the spectacles are a form of idolatry, which has been renounced by the Christian in the baptismal oath, (3) the immorality and vanity of the spectacles ought to prevent Christians from visiting them. Of these arguments the second is the most important; Tertullian does not dwell on the first of them, realizing its weakness, while the third naturally flows from the second and is treated only *ex abundanti* (14, 1). Thus Boulanger arrives at the following disposition:

1. Introduction (ch. 1/3).
2. Chef d'accusation principal: tous les spectacles dérivent de l'idolâtrie (ch. 4/13).
3. Chef d'accusation accessoire: l'immoralité (ch. 14/19).
4. Confirmation (ch. 20/23).
5. Conclusion (ch. 24/30).

This disposition is open to several objections. To begin with, one wonders what difference there is between 'Faith' and 'Truth', which, according to Boulanger, are strictly distinguished by Tertullian. Secondly, it is incorrect to regard ch. 2 as still being part of the introduction.[4] This chapter is directed against the pagans,[5] who assert that the spectacles cannot be offensive to

[3] *Qui status fidei, quae ratio veritatis, quod praescriptum disciplinae inter cetera saecularium errorum etiam spectaculorum voluptates adimat, dei servi, cognoscite, . . .*

[4] This was rightly pointed out by E. Castorina in his recent edition of the treatise (Biblioteca di studi superiori XLVII; Florence 1961), p. 91. However, Castorina does not give an analysis.

[5] This is evident from passages like 2, 2/3: *Quam sapiens argumentatrix sibi videtur ignorantia humana, praesertim cum aliquid eiusmodi de gaudiis et fructibus* (*de fr.* Dekkers) *saeculi metuit amittere. Plures denique invenias, quos magis periculum voluptatis quam vitae evocet* (*avocet* Dekkers) *ab hac secta* (for *ignorantia* as a characterization of heathendom cf. e.g. *Apol.* 39, 9; *Ad Scap.* 1, 1); 2, 5: *Sed quia non penitus deum norunt nisi naturali iure, non etiam familiari, de longinquo, non de proximo, necesse est ignorent, qualiter administrari iubeat quae instituit, simul quae vis sit aemula ex adverso adulterandis usibus divinae conditionis quia neque voluntatem neque adversarium noveris eius quem minus noveris,* contrasting with 2, 12: *Nos igitur,*

God, because all things used for them have been created by Him and, for that reason, are good. These people, Tertullian argues, have no real knowledge of God and, consequently, do not know that things created must not be used for purposes forbidden by God, *quando haec sit tota ratio damnationis, perversa administratio conditionis a conditis* (2, 11). So in this chapter Tertullian is already dealing with the theme of the whole treatise announced at the end of the introduction, which is, that spectacles are incompatible with true religion and true obedience towards the true God (*hoc cum maxime paramus demonstrare, quemadmodum ista non competant verae religioni et vero obsequio erga verum deum*, 1, 4). Moreover, Boulanger severs the close connection of ch. 3 with the following chapters. In ch. 3 Tertullian starts refuting the argument that in the Bible an explicit prohibition of the spectacles is lacking. Both ch. 4/13 and ch. 14/29 are closely connected with, indeed serve the purpose of this refutation; [6] this is evident not only from the beginning of ch. 4, where Tertullian impresses the baptismal oath as the principal authority (*principalem auctoritatem . . . ipsius signaculi nostri*) upon those who ask for the authority of Holy Scripture (*de scripturis auctoritatem*, 3, 1). but also from the conclusion stated in 20, 1: *Quam vana igitur, immo desperata argumentatio eorum, qui sine dubio tergiversatione amittendae voluptatis optendunt nullam eius abstinentiae mentionem specialiter vel localiter in scripturis determinari, quae directo prohibeat eiusmodi conventibus inseri servum dei.* Further, that which Boulanger

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qui domino cognito etiam aemulum eius inspeximus, qui institutore comperto et interpolatorem una deprehendimus, nec mirari neque dubitare oportet; especially 3, 1: *Hac conscientia instructi adversus opinionem ethnicorum convertamur magis ad nostrorum detractatus.* P. Wolf (*Die Stellung des Christen zu den Schauspielen nach Tertullians Schrift De Spectaculis*, thesis Leipsic, Vienna 1897, p. 22/3) concludes from the first sentence of ch. 2 that Tertullian addresses both Christians and pagans: *Iam vero nemo est qui non hoc quoque praetendat: omnia a deo instituta et homini attributa, sicut praedicamus, et utique bona ut omnia boni auctoris* (*bona omnia ut* Dekkers). However, the words *sicut praedicamus* prove that only pagans are meant who avail themselves of a Christian doctrine.—Quotations from Tertullian's works are given according to the edition in the Corpus Christianorum (Turnholt 1954), unless the editor has been mentioned. Where I prefer a different reading, the editor's reading has been added between brackets.

[6] Cf. Castorina, *o.c.*, p. 91/2.

regards as the fourth part of the work does not merely contain a confirmation of the foregoing; on the contrary, Tertullian there combats a fresh argument of his opponents (20, 2 sqq.). Finally, ch. 24/30 do not form a whole: ch. 28/30 are a brilliant peroration, clearly distinguished from the foregoing chapters, the contents of which result directly from the conclusion stated in 24, 1.[7]

In his commentary on the treatise Büchner [8] gives the following analysis:

A. Einleitung (cap. 1).
B. Hauptteil (cap. 2/27):
   I. Teil (cap. 2/4).
   II. Teil: Der antiquarische Teil (cap. 5/13).
   III. Teil (cap. 15/27).
C. Schluss (cap. 28/30).

In this disposition, just as in Boulanger's, the connection of ch. 3 with the following chapters is severed; on the other hand, ch. 15/27 are regarded as forming a whole, although from ch. 20, 2 onwards another issue is dealt with than was done in ch. 15/20, 1. Büchner, too, thinks that the first sentence indicates the structure of the treatise with regards to its contents ("den inhaltlichen Aufbau der Schrift").[9] He interprets *status fidei* as " 'der (allgemeine)

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[7] Similar to Boulanger's analysis and open to the same objections is that by P. Wolf (*o.c.*, p. 22 sqq., especially p. 60/4), based on the disposition by H. Kellner (*Ausgewählte Schriften des S. Tertullianus, übersetzt und mit Einleitung versehen*, 1 (Kempten 1870), p. 241) and adopted by H. F. Soveri (*De ludorum memoria praecipue Tertullianea capita selecta* (Helsingfors 1912), p. 157/8): introduction (1/3), first part of the demonstration: connection with idolatry (4/13), transition (14), second part: moral dangers (15/24), peroration (25/30).

[8] Joseph Büchner, *Quint. Sept. Flor. Tertullian De Spectaculis. Kommentar* (thesis, Würzburg 1935), p. 22/4. The analysis preceding the translation of the *De spectaculis* in: *Tertullianus. Apologeticum en andere geschriften uit Tertullianus' voor-Montanistische tijd.* Ingeleid, vertaald en toegelicht door Christine Mohrmann (Monumenta Christiana, 1e reeks, deel III; Utrecht–Brussels 1951), is that by Büchner.

[9] *O.c.*, p. 28. Castorina (*o.c.*, p. 3/4) rightly rejects the wide sense attributed to *fides* by Büchner, but for the rest he adopts the latter's interpretation of the first sentence. He, too, finds "una *climax ad maius* . . ., dal più generico al più preciso" in *status fidei*, *ratio veritatis*, and *praescriptum disciplinae*, of which terms the second "alla quale Tert. dedicherà il cap. 3

Standpunkt des Glaubens', der den Schauspielbesuch [10] verbietet, gemeint is dabei nicht nur der christliche Glaube, sondern allgemein jeder Gottesglaube, also auch der Heiden (behandelt in spect. 2)". However, it is *a priori* incredible that in a writing addressed to Christians the word *fides*, mentioned together with *veritas* and *disciplina*, would have such a general meaning. Actually, ch. 2 is only directed against the belief of the heathen which does not forbid the visiting of spectacles.[11] In Büchner's opinion *ratio veritatis* means "ein Grund, der sich aus der göttlichen Wahrheit ergibt, die den Christen geoffenbart ist" and refers to the condemnation of the spectacles in Holy Scripture which Tertullian tries to prove in ch. 3, while *praescriptum disciplinae* is "eine Vorschrift der disciplina christiana", elaborated in ch. 4/27. However, not only in ch. 3 but also in ch. 15 sqq. it is passages from Holy Scripture on which Tertullian founds his prohibition of the visiting of spectacles. On the other hand, not everything dealt with in ch. 4/27 comes under the head of *disciplina*; particularly the exposition of the idolatry inherent in the spectacles concerns *veritas* or *fides*.

So neither these interpretations of the first sentence nor the dispositions of the treatise based on them carry conviction. In order to arrive at a more satisfactory analysis we have to follow the whole chain of argument starting from a close examination of the first sentence.

Tertullian begins his demonstration as follows: *Qui status fidei, quae ratio veritatis, quod praescriptum disciplinae inter cetera saecularium errorum etiam spectaculorum voluptates adimat, dei servi, cognoscite, qui cum maxime ad deum acceditis, recognoscite, qui iam accessisse vos testificati et confessi estis, ne aut ignorando aut dissimulando quis peccet.* It is true that this sentence seems to announce a treatment of the subject from three points of view, that is to say, a division of the argument into three parts successively dealing

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. . . indica il precetto particolare implicito, mentre *praescriptum disciplinae* indica il precetto particolare esplicito"; a closer examination of the meaning of *status fidei* and *ratio veritatis* is wanting. Castorina translates: "Qual fondamento della Fede, quale principio insito nella Verità rivelata, quale espresso precetto della dottrina cristiana . . ."

[10] The text reads 'Schauspielversuch' which of course is a misprint.

[11] Cf. *supra*, p. 130/1, and note 5.

with *status fidei*, *ratio veritatis*, and *praescriptum disciplinae*. But what is the meaning of these three terms?

Disciplina [12] sometimes indicates the Christian doctrine in its entirety, e.g. *Apol.* 47, 11: *Omnia adversus veritatem de ipsa veritate constructa sunt operantibus aemulationem istam spiritibus erroris. Ab his adulteria huiusmodi salutaris disciplinae subornata . . .*; *Praescr.* 6, 4: *Apostolos domini habemus auctores qui . . . acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus adsignaverunt.*[13] More frequently, however, the word is used in the sense of 'Christian morals', that is, either the whole system of precepts regarding behaviour in daily life which result from revelation (e.g. *Spect.* 15, 4, quoted in note 17; *Cult. fem.* 2, 9, 1: *quid prodest faciem quidem frugi et expeditam et simplicitate condignam divinae disciplinae exhibere, cetera vero corporis laciniosis pomparum et deliciarum ineptiis occupare?* [14]) or the observance of these precepts (e.g.

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[12] For the meanings of *disciplina* see V. Morel, *Le développement de la 'disciplina' sous l'action du Saint Esprit chez Tertullien*, Rev. Hist. Eccl. 35 (1939), 243/65, and *Disciplina: le mot et l'idée representée par lui dans les œuvres de Tertullien*, *ibid.* 40 (1944–1945), 5/46; R. Braun, *'Deus Christianorum'. Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien* (Publications de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines d'Alger, XLI; Paris 1962), p. 419/21. 423/5; H. I. Marrou, *Doctrina et disciplina dans la langue des Pères de l'Eglise*, ALMA 9 (1934), 5/25; W. Dürig, *Disciplina. Eine Studie zum Bedeutungsumfang des Wortes in der Sprache der Liturgie und der Väter*, Sacr. Erud. 4 (1952), 245/79; O. Mauch, *Der lateinische Begriff 'disciplina'*, thesis Fribourg 1941 (on Tertullian p. 92/101).

[13] Cf. Morel, *Disciplina*, p. 14/7.

[14] Morel (*Disc.*, p. 30/1) classes *Cult. fem.* 2, 9, 1 under the heading 'Divine laws', under which he groups all passages where God is explicitly mentioned, or alluded to in the context, as the author of the law; *Spect.* 15, 3/4 is grouped with those passages where the moral laws are called *disciplina* without being referred to God (*ibid.* p. 33/4). However, Morel concedes: "Dans le christianisme, bien des lois morales coïncident avec les lois divins" (p. 33). So in several cases the distinction made by him has merely formal meaning, as it is only dependent on the question whether God has been mentioned or not. On the other hand, the first-mentioned heading includes passages where *disciplina* indicates more than precepts concerning moral conduct as well as passages where it is these only or in the first place which are meant, and under the second heading cases where Christian morals are alluded to have been grouped together with those where the morals observed also by pagans, or even exclusively by them, are spoken of. For these reasons it seems preferable to distinguish: 1. passages

Apol. 39, 3: *fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam praeceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus*).[15] The former, general meaning does not fit into the context, not because in that case *disciplina* would have nearly the same meaning as *veritas* (cf. *Apol.* 47, 11, just quoted), for *fides* and *veritas*, too, are practically synonymous, as will be proved below, but because the word *praescriptum* points to the second meaning [16] and, moreover, the expositions of ch. 15 sqq., explicitly linked with *disciplina*,[17] refer to moral behaviour. Whether *praescriptum disciplinae* is interpreted as 'precept regarding moral behaviour' or as 'precept of (belonging to) Christian morals' makes little or no difference to the meaning. The latter interpretation, however, is much to be preferred: it is less forced and, in contrast to the former interpretation, it preserves the parallelism with *status fidei*

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in which *disciplina* means 'the Divine law' comprising more than moral prescriptions (e.g. *Apol.* 21, 5. 30, 5; *Spect.* 3, 4. 3, 8; *Orat.* 4, 2); 2. passages in which *disciplina* only or in the first place indicates the revealed morals, with or without God being mentioned as their author (e.g. *Apol.* 2, 6. 18, 3. 46, 17; *Paen.* 2, 12; *Ad ux.* 1, 5, 4. 2, 1, 1; both *Cult. fem.* 2, 9, 1 and *Spect.* 15, 4 fall under this heading); 3. passages in which *disciplina* indicates morals observed also by pagans or even exclusively by them (e.g. *Apol.* 35, 3. 45, 2. 46, 3. 46, 8).

15 Cf. Morel, *Disc.*, p. 40/1.

16 For *praeceptum* in connection with *disciplina* cf. e.g. *Apol.* 39, 3; *Cult. fem.* 2, 5, 5; *Idol.* 21, 5; *Adv. Marc.* 2, 5, 7.—Morel (*Disc.*, p. 36/7) groups the present passage under the heading 'ecclesiastical prescriptions' together with those passages where, according to him, *disciplina* indicates "prescriptions concrètes pour la conduite en vue de favoriser l'observation des lois divines et morales". However, in the present passage the concrete prescription is indicated by the word *praescriptum*, not by *disciplina*; moreover, Tert. particularly refers to ch. 15, 4 sqq., where *disciplina* is correctly interpreted by Morel as meaning "l'ensemble des lois morales".—Castorina's interpretation (*o.c.*, p. 4/5) is not clear: first he seems to follow Morel, but afterwards he attributes to *disciplina* the sense of 'Christian doctrine in general' (cf. also his translation quoted in note 9).

17 Cf. 15, 2/4: *Deus praecepit spiritum sanctum, utpote pro naturae suae bono tenerum et delicatum, tranquillitate et lenitate et quiete et pace tractare, non furore, non bile, non ira, non dolore inquietare. Huiusmodi cum spectaculis poterit convenire? Omne enim spectaculum sine concussione spiritus non est. Ubi enim voluptas, ibi et studium, per quod scilicet voluptas sapit; ubi studium, ibi et aemulatio, per quam studium sapit. Porro et ubi aemulatio, ibi et furor et bilis et ira et dolor et cetera ex his, quae cum his non conpetunt disciplinae.*

and *ratio veritatis* (*fidei*, *veritatis*, and *disciplinae* all referring to Christian doctrine and all possessive genitives). Since in the treatise more than one aspect of Christian morals is treated, the word *praescriptum* must have a collective sense. This rather remarkable use of the singular undoubtedly serves the purpose of parallelism with *status* and *ratio*. So *quod praescriptum disciplinae* means 'what precept(s) of Christian morals'.

In this sense *disciplina* is also connected with *fides*[18] in *Apol.* 23, 11: *Eadem vero opera nostra ab eisdem deis vestris non tantum hoc detegentibus, quod neque ipsi sint neque ulli alii, etiam illud in continenti cognoscetis, qui sit vere deus, et an ille et an unicus, quem Christiani profitemur, et an ita credendus colendusque, ut fides et disciplina disposita est Christianorum.*[19] Here *fides* denotes the contents of Faith, and in the present passage of *Spect.* it has the same meaning: the active sense (= *τὸ πιστεύειν*) is impossible in connection with *voluptates adimat*, for in reality the faith – in the active sense – of many Christians does not prevent them from visiting spectacles! *Status*, used by Tertullian with various meanings,[20] can here only indicate 'the permanent condition, the character, the essence'.[21] So *status fidei* means 'that which forms the essence of (the contents of) Christian Faith'.

[18] For *fides* cf. Braun, *o.c.*, 443/5; J. Lortz, *Tertullian als Apologet* (Münster i.W. 1927/8), 1, 192 (especially for *Apol.* 23, 5).

[19] Morel (*Disc.*, p. 14/5) classes *Apol.* 23, 11 among the passages where *disciplina* means "le christianisme comme tel", which, in my opinion, is incorrect: *fides*, referring to *credendus*, and *disciplina*, referring to *colendus*, are distinguished from each other in precisely the same way as *religio in animo et in conscientia* from *metus et honor* and *vera religio* from *verum obsequium* in the present passage.

[20] Cf. E. Evans in his edition of the *Adversus Praxean* (London 1948), p. 50/2; Braun, *o.c.*, 199/207. 364; also V. Naumann, Ztschr. f. kath. Theol. 58 (1934), 339 n. 11, and A. d'Alès, *La théologie de Tertullien* (Paris 1905), p. 81 n. 3.

[21] For this meaning cf. e.g. *Fuga* 4, 1: *non sensus hominis praeiudicat statui rerum, sed status sensui. Status enim unusquisque certum quid est et dat sensui legem ita sentiendi statum sicut est. Si autem statu quidem bonum quod a deo venit – nihil enim a deo non bonum, quia divinum, quia rationale –, sensui vero malum videtur, erit status in tuto, sensus in vitio. Statu optima res pudicitia et veritas et iustitia, quae a multorum sensu displicent*; *Apol.* 21, 1. 46, 1. – The meaning 'point of view', attributed by Büchner to *status*, does not occur in Tertullian's works, as far as I know; besides, it is impossible in the context.

Remains the interpretation of *ratio veritatis*. Tertullian uses the word *veritas* in a religious sense to denote the true doctrine, the true Faith, in contrast with the false belief, the error of the heathen.[22] Thus in *Apol.* 21, 30 he says that it was Christ's task to lead man *in agnitionem veritatis*; cf. *Apol.* 15, 8: *Quid ergo colunt qui talia non colunt? Iam quidem intellegi subiacet veritatis esse cultores qui mendacii non sint, nec errare amplius in eo, in quo errasse se recognoscendo cessaverint.* On the other hand, there is *nihil verum in his, qui deum nesciunt praesidem et magistrum veritatis* (*Cult. fem.* 2, 1, 2). So its meaning gets very close to that of *fides*. Büchner explains *ratio veritatis* as "ein Grund, der sich aus der göttlichen Wahrheit ergibt, die den Christen geoffenbart is". But it seems doubtful whether this interpretation of the genitive is correct; moreover, in this way the parallelism with *status fidei*, which is the more obvious because of the nearly identical meaning of *veritas* and *fides*, is considerably weakened. Therefore, it seems better to render *ratio veritatis* by 'the nature, the essence of Truth (of the true doctrine)'.

So in the first sentence of the treatise Tertullian declares that to catechumens (*qui cum maxime ad deum acceditis*) and to those who have already been baptized (*qui iam accessisse vos testificati et confessi estis*) he will explain, which is the essence of Christian Faith (*qui status fidei*), which the nature of Truth (*quae ratio veritatis*), which the precepts of Christian morals (*quod praescriptum disciplinae*), all of which forbid the visiting of spectacles. It is evident that according to this interpretation *status fidei* and *ratio veritatis* are virtually synonymous and that, therefore, not three, but only two grounds of the prohibition are given. That this is the proper interpretation is proved by the rest of the introduction. Thus in paragraph 3 it is stated that some Christians are led astray by pagans who assert *nihil obstrepere religioni in animo et in conscientia tanta solacia extrinsecus oculorum vel aurium nec vero deum offendi oblectatione hominis, qua salvo erga deum metu et honore suo in tempore et suo in loco frui scelus non sit.* So the arguments of these pagans concern *two* points, viz., *religio in animo et in conscientia* and *metus et honor erga deum*, the former of which corresponds to *fides*, the latter to *disciplina*. The decisive corrobo-

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[22] Cf. Lortz, *o.c.*, p. 2, 87/95; Braun, *o.c.*, p. 74/5. 419. 445/6.

ration is given in Tertullian's answer to the just-mentioned arguments, by which he concludes the introduction and once more formulates the theme of the treatise: *Atquin hoc cum maxime paramus demonstrare, quemadmodum ista non competant verae religioni et vero obsequio erga verum deum.* He, too, mentions only *two* points on which his argumentation will be based, viz., *vera religio*, corresponding to *fides* and *veritas*, and *verum obsequium erga verum deum* as a parallel to *disciplina.*

So we arrive at the conclusion that in the first sentence as well as in the rest of the introduction Tertullian announces a treatment of the theme not from three, but from two points of view: *fides-veritas*, the true Faith, and *disciplina*, Christian morals. This, however, gives rise to the question why in the first sentence a formulation has been chosen which seems to indicate a tripartition of the argument. The reason for it is Tertullian's partiality to beginning his treatises with a striking sentence in which the principal word of the title is repeated. Here he has achieved this by arranging three parallel constructions according to the 'Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder', with asyndeton and polyptoton of the interrogative pronoun. For the sake of this rhetorical effect he has expressed the same idea twice in different terms. A similar case is found in the opening sentence of the *De idololatria*: *Principale crimen generis humani, summus saeculi reatus, tota causa iudicii idololatria.* Here, too, the first two expressions are virtually synonymous.[23]

It is true that *fides-veritas* and *disciplina* are the two points of view from which Tertullian deals with the subject: ch. 1, 5/13 concern the former of them, ch. 15 sqq. the latter (cf. 15, 4). However, this must not be taken too strictly, for ch. 1, 5/6 and ch. 2 refer as much to *disciplina*, and ch. 20 sqq. as well to *veritas* (cf. 20, 6). In any case it is not these two notions which determine the structure of the treatise. In order to make this clear we shall follow the chain of argument.

With the *propositio* in 1, 4, quoted above, the introduction is concluded. The remaining part of ch. 1 is devoted to the combating of a first objection made to the prohibition of the visiting of spectacles: some pagans doubt that it is due to a precept of God

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[23] More instances are given by Waszink, *o.c.*, p. 82; Büchner, *o.c.*, p. 29.

(1, 5: *humano prospectu, non divino praescripto definitum*). Also in ch. 2 an argument of pagans is refuted (cf. *supra*, p. 130/1).

In ch. 3 Tertullian passes on to the combating of Christian opponents (cf. 3, 1, quoted in note 5). First of all he addresses those who require the authority of the Bible for a prohibition of the spectacles and who are in doubt, because in Holy Scripture an explicit prohibition should be lacking. So Tertullian has to show that the prohibition does rest on authority. His first proof consists of Ps. 1, 1/3, which passage through a very wide interpretation is also made valid for the spectacles (ch. 3). Then he begins ch. 4 as follows: *Ne quis argumentari nos putet, ad principalem auctoritatem convertar ipsius signaculi nostri.* Lest his argument should be rejected as quibbling, he impresses the authority of the baptismal oath upon those people who require the authority of Holy Scripture, and even calls the former one *principalis auctoritas* in order to reinforce his argument. So the next exposition is closely allied to that of ch. 3: actually, it is the second proof that the prohibition of visiting spectacles is based on authority. In the baptismal oath a Christian renounces the *pompa diaboli*, which above all things manifests itself in idolatry. Therefore, Tertullian wants to prove that the spectacles are a form of idolatry and, hence, belong to the renounced pomp of the devil.[24] For this purpose he gives a detailed survey of the *origo*, *tituli*, *apparatus*, *locus*, and *artes* of the four kinds of spectacles, which is concluded in ch. 13. In ch. 14 he returns to the argument of ch. 3: *Nunc interposito nomine idololatriae, quod solum subiectum sufficere debet ad abdicationem spectaculorum, alia iam ratione tractemus ex abundanti, propter eos maxime qui sibi blandiuntur quod non nominatim abstinentia ista praescripta sit.* He supplements it by pointing out that the desire to visit spectacles, as a lust for pleasure (*voluptatis concupiscentia*), belongs to the lusts of the world (*concupiscentiae saeculi*) condemned in Tit. 2, 12 (cf. also 1 John 2, 15/17) and, hence, in this passage, too, is

[24] For the meaning of *pompa diaboli* cf. J. H. Waszink, *Pompa diaboli*, Vig. Christ. 1 (1947), 15/41. In this connection it is worth mentioning that the *pompa circi* has played a decisive part in the semantic development of the term, cf. Waszink's conclusion: "Les nuances du sens s'expliquent par les associations qui, dans la chrétienté primitive, s'attachaient à la *pompa circi*" (p. 41).

implicitly forbidden by Holy Scripture. The reason why this addition was not given in ch. 3 is a compositional one. Ps. 1, 1/3 was associated by Tertullian with the spectacles on account of some outward particulars and, especially, on account of the fact that the heathen spectators cause them to be a "counsel of the ungodly".[25] Thus bearing on the spectacles in a very general sense only, this biblical passage could have no more than a limited power of persuasion. Accordingly it was placed at the outset of the argumentation, so that it could be reinforced by Tertullian's next, and most important, argument, viz., the demonstration that the spectacles are essentially a form of idolatry, to which, moreover, it constitutes a proper introduction by characterizing the spectacles as a *concilium impiorum* (this, too, makes the close connection of ch. 3 with ch. 4/13 evident). On the other hand, Tit. 2, 12 interpreted as also referring to *voluptates* and, hence, to the spectacles [26] yields a fitting transition to the discussion of a number of sins, less grievous than idolatry, which are connected with visiting spectacles in consequence of the nature of the performances. This discussion, filling ch. 15/19, is again a refutation of those who assert that an explicit prohibition of the spectacles is lacking in Holy Scripture, and it is expressly motivated as such not only in 14, 1, just quoted, but also several times in the following chapters.[27] So this is the third proof that the prohibition of visiting spectacles is based on authority. In ch. 20, 1 (quoted above, p. 131)

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[25] 3, 3: *Sed invenimus ad hanc quoque speciem pertinere illam primam vocem David: Felix vir, inquit, qui non abiit in concilium impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit nec in cathedra pestium sedit* (*et in c. p. non s.* Dekkers) — 3, 5/6: *Si enim pauculos tunc Iudaeos impiorum concilium vocavit, quanto magis tantum conventum ethnici populi? Minus impii ethnici, minus peccatores, minus hostes Christi quam tunc Iudaei? Quid quod et cetera congruunt? Nam apud spectacula et in cathedra sedetur et in via statur; vias enim et cardines vocant balteorum per ambitum et discrimina popularium per proclivum; cathedra quoque nominatur ipse in anfractu ad consessum situs.*

[26] 14, 2/3: *Quasi parum etiam de spectaculis pronuntietur, cum concupiscentiae saeculi damnantur. Nam sicut pecuniae vel dignitatis vel gulae vel libidinis vel gloriae, ita et voluptatis concupiscentia est; species autem voluptatis etiam spectacula. Opinor, generaliter nominatae concupiscentiae continent in se et voluptates, aeque generaliter intellectae voluptates specialiter et in spectacula disseruntur.*

[27] Cf. the next note.

Tertullian draws the conclusion from the whole foregoing argument (ch. 3/19): the objection mentioned in ch. 3, 1 is senseless.

However, immediately a new objection crops up: the sun, indeed God Himself, sees the spectacles without being defiled (20, 2). This objection is refuted in ch. 20, 3/23. In ch. 24, 1 Tertullian states that he has sufficiently proved that a Christian is forbidden to visit spectacles: *Quot adhuc modis perorabimus* (*probabimus* Dekkers, *probavimus* Reifferscheid) *nihil ex his quae spectaculis deputantur placitum deo esse?* He adds some implications of visiting spectacles (ch. 24, 3/27) and concludes by contrasting the pleasures granted by God with the heathen entertainments and by evoking the scene of the Second Advent and the Day of Judgment as the most wonderful spectacle of all for the Christian (ch. 28/30).

So we arrive at the following analysis:

I: Introduction and *propositio* (1, 1/4):
Christians are forbidden to visit spectacles.

II: Against the pagans (1, 5/2):

A. The prohibition has no tactical, i.e. human, reasons, but even if this were the case, these reasons would deserve to be respected (1, 5/6).

B. Refutation of the assertion that the spectacles cannot be offensive either to God or to His worshippers, because all things used for them have been created by Him and, for that reason, are good (2).

III : To the Christians (3/27):

A. It is wrongly put forward that in Holy Scripture an explicit prohibition of visiting spectacles is lacking (3, 1). Proofs:

1. The Bible implicitly forbids the visiting of spectacles (3).
2. In the baptismal oath a Christian renounces the devil, his pomp and angels. These particularly manifest themselves in idolatry. So the baptismal oath also applies to the spectacles, which are a form of idolatry (4), as is shown by:
   a) the origins of the spectacles in general (5);
   b) the titles of the spectacles in general (6);
   c) the equipment of the spectacles and in particular that of the *ludi circenses*, which is the most pompous (7);
   d) the place of the *ludi circenses* (8);

e) the arts of the *ludi circenses* (9);
f) the (origin, titles, equipment) place, arts of the *ludi scaenici* (10);
g) the (origin) titles, equipment, place, arts of the *agones* (11);
h) the origin, titles, equipment, place, arts of the amphitheatre (12);
i) summary and conclusion (13).

Supplement of the argument of ch. 3 and transition to the third proof (14).

3. By visiting spectacles a Christian infringes the moral precepts given in Holy Scripture (*disciplina*):
   a) agitation of the spirit, vanity, contact with sinners (15);
   b) madness of the circus (16);
   c) shamelessness of the theatre (17);
   d) various sins attendant on the *agones* (18);
   e) cruelty of the amphitheatre (19).

Conclusion: the assertion that the prohibition of visiting spectacles misses the authority of Holy Scripture is senseless (20, 1).

B. Another objection: the sun, indeed God Himself, sees the spectacles without being defiled (20, 2). Refutation:

1. In this way the Judge and the culprit are put on a level (20, 3/4).
2. What is forbidden elsewhere is also forbidden at the spectacles. There is a fixed standard (20, 5/6).
3. The pagans do not possess such a fixed standard. Consequently, they behave at the spectacles in a way which is detested in daily life (21); consequently, they applaud athletes and artists but all the same stigmatize them with infamy (22).
4. If, however, men in their hearts regard people performing in spectacles as condemnable, they are certainly condemned by God (23).

Conclusion: it has been sufficiently proved that a Christian is forbidden to visit spectacles (24, 1/3). The rejection of the spectacles is a mark of Christianity (24, 3); visiting them, therefore, means denial, not only in itself (24, 4) but also through the mentality and behaviour connected with it (25). It brings one into the power of the devil and the demons, and sometimes it is immediately punished by God (26). So one should avoid these temptations of the devil (27).

IV: Epilogue (28/30):

Let the heathen, the subjects of the devil, enjoy themselves now, our turn will come later (28). Indeed, we already have our own enjoyments in the present life (29). Moreover, we are expecting the grandiose spectacle of the Last Judgment (30).

It is clear that the treatise is a debate from beginning to end. That a Christian is forbidden to visit spectacles is not expounded in an informative way from the positions of *fides-veritas* and *disciplina*; it is not these notions which determine the course of the argument, but the assertions of opponents. All points are raised as reactions to objections, and serve the purpose of their refutation. The most important of these objections is that visiting spectacles is not explicitly prohibited: the greater part of the treatise is devoted to its refutation (ch. 3/20, 1). Tertullian clearly indicates it by repeatedly mentioning this objection and stating that his demonstration is directed against it.[28] His own principal argument is that the spectacles are a form of idolatry. This is evident from Tertullian's own statement that the expositions of ch. 15 sqq. are only added *ex abundanti*, idolatry being the principal charge (*principalis titulus*, 15, 1), and from the fact that in his conclusion he once more summarizes the argument of ch. 4/13.[29] However, this argument, too, is not independently put forward but in order to refute an objection of his opponents.

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[28] Cf. 3, 1, quoted in n. 5; 14, 1/3, quoted on p. 139 and in n. 26; 15, 2/3, quoted in n. 17; 17, 6: *Habes igitur et theatri interdictionem de interdictione impudicitiae* (cf. Eph. 5, 3; Rom. 13, 13). *Si et doctrinam saecularis litteraturae ut stultitiae apud deum deputatam aspernamur* (cf. 1 Cor. 3, 19), *satis praescribitur nobis et de illis speciebus spectaculorum, quae saeculari litteratura lusoriam vel agonisticam scaenam dispungunt*; 18, 1: *Quodsi stadium contendas in scripturis nominari, sane obtinebis. Sed quae in stadio geruntur, indigna conspectu tuo non negabis . . .*; 19, 1: *Exspectabimus nunc et amphitheatri repudium de scripturis?* 20, 1, quoted on p. 131.

[29] Cf. 24, 2/3: *Si omnia propter diabolum instituta et ex diaboli rebus instructa monstravimus (nihil enim non diaboli est quicquid dei non est vel deo displicet), hoc erit pompa diaboli, adversus quam in signaculo fidei eieramus. Quod autem eieramus, neque facto neque dicto neque visu neque conspectu participare debemus.*

Vigiliae Christianae 18 (1964) 144–145; *North-Holland Publishing Co.*

SOME ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON ST. AMBROSE'S CONCEPT OF MATTER

BY

J. C. M. VAN WINDEN O. F. M.

In a former paper (*Vig. Chr.* 16 (1962), 205–215) some observations were made on St. Ambrose's concept of matter, as it finds expression in his sermons on *Genesis* I 1. The conclusions of that article can be summarized as follows: 1. In contrast with his dependence on St. Basil in almost the whole *Exameron*, St. Ambrose goes his own way in his discussion of matter. He does not understand the term 'earth' literally but allegorically, as an indication of matter. 2. In this respect he follows the trend of the exegesis which originated from the first contact between the explanation of the Bible and Greek philosophy, especially in the School of Alexandria. 3. The interpretation of matter as an active cause, even to the extent that God is said to be "an imitator or a disciple of matter", seems to be a contribution by St. Ambrose himself. As to the last conclusion, a correction has to be made.

In his *De natura boni*, ch. 18, St. Augustine, treating on the origin of evil, says: *neque enim vel illa materies, quam antiqui hylen dixerunt, malum dicenda est. Non eam dico, quam Manichaeus hylen appellat dementissima vanitate, nesciens quid loquatur, formatricem corporum: unde recte illi dictum est quod alterum deum inducat: nemo enim formare et creare corpora nisi deus potest: neque enim creantur nisi cum eis modus et species et ordo subsistit.* Clearly Augustine is arguing here against a similar idea of matter as an active cause, for the concept of God as a *discipulus* or *imitator materiae* is nothing but a further elaboration of the idea of matter as a *formatrix corporum* and a *alter deus*. Thus in both St. Augustine and St. Ambrose we find the same *reductio ad absurdum* of a strictly dualistic system – the formulation given by St. Ambrose only represents a further development of the argument: if matter is an active and a form-giving cause, then God, *for being dependent on His material*, can indeed be described as an imitator or a disciple of matter. Without any doubt Ambrose is also arguing

against Manicheism, which system in a different context is attacked by him in the following way: *non agnoscis opus esse te Christi? Manibus suis ut legimus te ille formavit: et tu, Manichee, alterum tibi asciscis auctorem* (*Exam.* III 8, 32; p. 80, 15–18 Sch.).

As for the argument of both St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, Tertullian's *Adversus Hermogenem* presents some revealing texts. Hermogenes was adherent of a strictly dualistic interpretation of Plato's doctrine.[1] Arguing against this dualism Tertullian states: *Ita Hermogenes duos deos infert: materiam parem deo infert* (4, 5; p. 20, 14–15 Waszink), and *neque enim potest non et materia auctrix omnium deputari, de qua universitas consistit* (5, 1; p. 21, 7–8; Cf. 6, 2; p. 22, 19: *auctrix cum deo*, and 7, 4; p. 23, 27: *auctricem auctori*). One is inclined to think that Augustine in his *De natura boni* is directly dependent on these texts.

Further on Tertullian says: *Atquin etiam praeponit illam deo et deum potius subicit materiae, cum vult eum de materia cuncta fecisse* (8, 1; p. 24, 7–8), and *Porro si de aliqua operatus est* (*sc. deus*), *necesse est ab ea ipsa acceperit et consilium et tractatum dispositionis, ut viam intellegentiae et scientiae* (17, 2; p. 34, 3–5). This idea seems to be expressed by St. Ambrose's *discipulus* and *imitator materiae*. By these two concepts, which seem to be Ambrose's own contribution, the *reductio ad absurdum* is followed out to the limit.

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[1] On this way of interpretation see the paper of F. P. Hager, *Die Materie und das Böse im antiken Platonismus* in *Museum Helveticum* 19 (1962), 73–103.

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AN EARLY CHRISTIAN CYCLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS FOR THE BOOK OF REVELATION – THE TRIER APOCALYPSE

BY

JAMES SNYDER

From the earliest times the Book of Revelation was one of the most influential texts for the art of the Christian church in western Europe. It was in part the authority of Jerome, his commentaries and his prologues for the Vulgate, that established the Apocalypse of John as one of the most popular textual sources for the Christian artists.[1] Time-honored themes and symbols, such as the Alpha and Omega, the Sacrificial Lamb, the Woman of the Apocalypse clothed with the Sun, and the New Jerusalem, were derived ultimately from the descriptions of these motifs in the Apocalypse. Moreover, many of traditional themes depicted in the mural decorations of the basilicas and cathedrals in western Europe the were apocalyptic, including such popular representations as *Maiestas Domini*, the Adoration of the Twenty-four Elders, and the Last Judgement. The significance of the imagery provided in the Book of Revelations has long been recognized, but the possible existence at some early date of extensive *narrative cycles* made up for the text itself has received little attention.[2]

[1] A. M. Friend, Jr., "The Picture of the Second Advent, Frontispiece of St. Jerome's Vulgate Gospels, A.D. 384", (General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, December, 1925) *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXX, 1926, pp. 88–89. The impact of apocalyptic and chiliastic thought on early medieval art has been discussed frequently, see especially F. van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini (Studi di Antichità christiana* XIII*)*, Rome, 1938, pp. 5 ff., 435 ff.

[2] For the nature of *cyclic narrative* employed in book illustration of the Hellenistic and Early Christian periods see K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1947, p. 17: "By conceiving each changing situation of the text as a picture in itself, the artist creates now a series of consecutive compositions with separate and centered actions, repeating the actors in each and so observing at the same time the rules of the unity of time and place". For narrative cycles in Apocalypse manuscripts consult

The earliest evidence for illustrations for the text of the Book of Revelation appears in a passage by Bede in which it is recorded that Benedict Biscop of Wearmouth made a trip to Rome (ca. 672) to acquire illustrated manuscripts, including a Book of Revelation, to serve as models for church decorations [3], and the earliest illustrated manuscripts of the Apocalypse that are known belong to the Carolingian period [4]. Of these the most important is a ninth-century codex in the Stadtbibliothek in Trier (Ms. 31) that contains one of the most extensive picture cycles for the Book of Revelation in all medieval art. At the same time, this manuscript provides us with an important key to the recovery of Early Christian illus-

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T. Frimmel, *Die Apokalypse in den Bilderhandschriften des Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1885, pp. 1–8; R. James, *The Apocalypse in Art*, London, 1931, pp. 31 ff.; F. van der Meer, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 ff., 179 ff., and 231 ff.; and W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibelillustration*, Münster in Westfalen, 1931, (hereafter: Neuss, *Apokalypse*).

[3] *Vita sanctorum abbatum monasterii in Wiramutha et Girvum. Migne* P. *L.* XCIV, 718. Cf. A. Goldschmidt, *An Early Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 33 ff., who ingeniously deduced that the Paris Apocalypse (Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1132), see below n. 4, is a copy of Benedict's manuscript.

[4] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 31; Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 386; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1132; and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 99. The manuscripts in Paris and Valenciennes are very closely related and together with a third famous Apocalypse manuscript, the Bamberg Apocalypse (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, A II 42), preserve an early picture book of the Apocalypse datable to the sixth or seventh century. The Cambrai manuscript is probably a copy of the Trier Apocalypse (see below note 16). The four Apocalypse manuscripts have not been studied extensively – see M. Petit, « Les Apocalypse manuscrites du moyen âge et les tapisseries de la cathédrale d'Angers », *Le Moyen Âge (Bulletin mensuel d'historie et de philologie)*, Paris, 1869, pp. 49 ff.; T. Frimmel *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.; H. Omont, « Manuscrits illustrés de l'apocalypse aux IXe et Xe siècles », *Bulletin de la Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures*, 5e et 6e année, Paris, 1922, pp. 62–95; W. Neuss, *Apokalypse*, pp. 247 ff.; and "Apokalypse", *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 1, Stuttgart, 1937, pp. 751–782; and F. Juraschek, *Die Apokalypse von Valenciennes*, Linz a.d. Donau, n.d. An Early Christian frontispiece for the Book of Revelation is preserved in three Bibles of the Tours scriptorium – see especially van der Meer, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–163; W. Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, I. *Die Schule von Tours*, Berlin, 1930–1933, pp. 140 ff.; and J. Croquison, « Une Vision eschatologique carolingienne », *Cahiers archéologiques*, IV, 1949, pp. 105–129.

trations of the Apocalypse since it can be demonstrated that its miniatures copy much earlier models.

The Apocalypse in the Trier library contains seventy-four full-page illustrations (26,2 cm × 21,6 cm). The text, corrected at some later date to conform with that of the Vulgate, was written in one column of nineteen lines per page.[5] The relationship between the text and the pictures is not clear. There are seventy-four miniatures, but there are only sixty-one divisions of the text indicated.[6] Furthermore, the illustrations from folio 1 to 20 appear on the verso side, behind the appropriate textual passages, an inconvenience that was corrected on folio 21 where the text and picture sequence was reversed with the text moved to the verso side directly facing the proper illustration. Framed in red borders, the miniatures were executed in ink with a quill pen. Apparently the work of one artist, the drawings are bold and clear for the most part although the execution frequently seems hurried or careless. Color is sparsely used. In many miniatures the figures are merely tinted with pale water colors. In a few instances (especially 56 r.), the miniaturist painstakingly modelled the draperies of the figures with opaque white and pink strokes and added highlights in the same fashion to the architecture and to the clouds. The style of the illustrations is difficult to localize, although there are some relationships with certain manuscripts of the School of Tours, particularly in the compositional arrangement of the episodes in registers.[7] The iconographic types for the enthroned Christ

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[5] M. Keuffer, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, Trier, 1888, pp. 34 ff.; H. Linke, *Studien zur Itala*, Breslau, 1889, pp. 22 ff., suggested that the original text of the Trier Apocalypse was based on a pre-Vulgate version; E. Braun, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Trierer Buchmalerei im früheren Mittelalter*, Trier, 1896, pp. 49. ff.

[6] The division of the text into sixty-one sections does not conform to the standard groupings of twenty-five *capita* as found in the Codex Amiatinus, the commentaries of Bede, Berengaudus, etc., the seventy-two *kephalaia* of Andreas of Caesarea, or the sixty-four *storiae* of Beatus of Liebana. For a discussion of these textual divisions see F. Juraschek, *Das Rätsel in Dürers Gottesschau*, Salzburg, 1955, pp. 19–24. For the numerous Early Christian translations of the Apocalypse consult H. Vogels, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-übersetzung*, Düsseldorf, 1920.

[7] E.g. The Grandval and Vivien Bibles, A. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, Pl. XLIV, XLVII–L, CXXII–CXXV. For general

that appear in the manuscripts from Tours also support this association, but these similarities are of a very general nature, and, as we shall see later, are probably due to the fact that the prototype of the Trier Apocalypse belonged to the same early period as did many of the models that lie behind the productions of the scriptorium at Tours.[8]

Following a practice that was common in Carolingian book illustration, the artist composed the full-page miniatures by simply grouping or conflating several narrative episodes on a single page usually arranging them in superimposed registers with or without lines to separate them (Figs. 1–5). In the seventy-four folios of illustrations approximately 150 individual narrative episodes are thus presented. Folio 50 (Fig. 1), for example, displays five distinct activities simultaneously: (1) XVI. 3, "And the second angel (third from the left) poured out his vial upon the sea", (2) XVI. 4, "And the third angel (second from the left) poured out his vial upon the rivers", (3) XVI. 5, "And I heard the angel of the waters (lower left) saying: Thou art just, O Lord", (4) XVI. 7, "And I heard another, from the altar (third from the right) saying, Yea, O Lord God Almighty, true and just are thy judgments", (5) XVI. 8, "And the fourth angel (fourth from the left) poured out his vial upon the sun". The arbitrary manner in which these various

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stylistic features see E. Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.; H. Janitschek, *Die Trierer Ada-Handschriften*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 105; A. Goldschmidt, *Die deutsche Buchmalerei*, Leipzig, 1928, 1, p, 18.

[8] For the iconography of the Tours *Maiestas* see W. Cook, "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia", *Art Bulletin*, VI, 1923, pp. 47–60. The slightly provincial style of the Trier drawings rules out any direct connection with the masterpieces of the Carolingian schools, but certain evidence does point to a provenance in North France in the second half of the ninth century. Stylistic relationships with such works as the Genoels-Elderen ivory (W. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1952, p. 94, Taf. 60), and the possibility that its illustrations were copied in a manuscript known to be in Cambrai as early as the tenth century, support this view. On the other hand, relationships in figure style can be seen in a miniature of the early ninth century and of North Italian origin (S. Paul im Lavanttal (Kärnten), Ms. 41) – see O. Homburger, "Ein vernichtetes Denkmal merowingischer Buchkunst", *Festschrift Hans R. Hahnloser*, Stuttgart, 1961, p. 192, Abb. 10. A late ninth-century date is suggested by the composite nature of the illustrations that have no parallels in earlier Carolingian miniatures.

episodes were compressed in the two zones of the miniature indicates that the artist of the Trier Apocalypse designed this page himself from smaller picture units in a model. At any rate, one can presume that the illustrations in the prototype of this cycle of pictures must have been considerably different from those in the Trier Apocalypse as far as the general composition and makeup of such pages as these were concerned. The impromptu nature of the ninth-century illustrations is especially apparent in the instances where the reading sequence was not only disturbed but inverted. In folio 19 v. (Fig. 2) the illustrator, working from the top left of the page to the lower right, put the Four Horsemen down in reverse order. What appears to be the first rider in the lower right-hand corner is Death on a Pale Horse, the very last to be sent out by the Lamb (VI. 8). At times the miniaturist, either fatigued or without models, spread one or two narrative episodes across the entire folio leaving vast empty spaces above them. In many he simply added an empty strip of sky across the top of the page to fill up the space. Near the end of his work he slowed down considerably, giving the reader only a single episode per folio for some of the lengthy descriptions concerning the Harlot of Babylonia (XVII. 1 ff.) and the appearance of the New Jerusalem (XXI. 1 ff.).[9] In a number of illustrations he resorted to adding single figures or groups of figures to fill up leftover space. The witness, John the Evangelist, served as the favorite "filler" in this sense. The textual passages require his presence in less than twenty of the miniatures, but he appears over seventy times, either standing to the side holding a scroll or sitting frontally opening the scroll across his lap (Figs. 1–5). In a like fashion angels were frequently repeated where the narratives involved the sequences of the seven angels who blow trumpets, pour vials, etc. (Figs. 1, 4). Other groups of figures added arbitrarily include the various peoples of the earth, usually distinguished by their costumes: the servants of God and the nobility generally wear long tunics; the sinners, merchants, and peasants are clad in short tunics; and the soldiers wear costumes reminiscent of military uniforms of the Romans with leather hose and a chlamys over a short tunic.

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[9] Folios 53–56, 68–74. For reproductions, see F. Juraschek, *Das Rätsel in Dürers Gottesschau*, Salzburg, 1955, Figs. 79–81, 85, 86.

Certain compositional schemes appear again and again. For the Messages to the Seven Churches in Asia (Fig. 3) the bust of Christ appears as the One in the heavens above an arc that marks the celestial from the terrestrial realm. He commands John, standing or sitting below, to write to the churches, represented by the angel and the church placed before the Evangelist. Finally, below them, in what seems to be a third zone of the miniature, an illustration of the message itself is given, i.e. in folio 10 v., five soldiers aligned there allude to the lines of the text that read "Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain. . . " (III. 2).[10] A stricter organization is repeated in the illustrations of the narratives of the Seven Angels Blowing the Seven Trumpets (i.e. Fig. 4). In most of these illustrations the highest zone is an empty band painted blue with indications of wavy clouds sketched in with streaks of red and white. In the second register the seven angels with trumpets stand, placed more or less symmetrically about the angel or angels who blow trumpets. The lowest division is the terrestrial zone, and it is here that the effects of call of the trumpet are vividly illustrated. With the sounding of the third trumpet (VIII. 10) and the fall of the star called *Absinthium*, we find the "many who died of the waters because they were made bitter". A similar organization was employed for the series of narratives for the angels who empty their vials as described in the sixteenth chapter of the Book of Revelation (Fig. 1). Here, in his attempt to illustrate the numerous happenings, the miniaturist omitted the empty strip of sky to provide more space for the illustrations of the destructions. A much more impressive compositional scheme appears in the numerous depictions of the Adoration of the Lamb or the One enthroned in heaven that reoccurs in the Apocalypse (Fig. 5, cf. folios 18 v., 23, 43, 61). The tripartite organization of the miniature here assumes a much stricter hieratic character. In the realm of the heavens appears the image of the *Maiestas Domini* – the Lamb or the One enthroned flanked by the four Living Beasts of the Apocalypse

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[10] Folios 6v. – 13v. In folio 7v. the Hand of God is substituted for the bust of Christ. Other minor variations are found in folios 6v., 8v., and 9v. The omission of the angel of the church and the illustrations of the messages in the Paris and Valenciennes Apocalypse cycles indicate that they belong to a different tradition – see Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

and, in some miniatures, angels in adoration.[11] The second zone, inhabited by the elders or angels who adore the *Maiestas Domini*, is that of the heavens too, but of a lower degree. The lowest register, peopled by the innocents or the servants of God on earth, is usually marked by a green ground to indicate the terrestrial domain.

The uniformity of many of these compositional types would seem to indicate that the model used by the artist of the Trier Apocalypse contained some of the more ambitious designs, espe-

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[11] This image, the *Maiestas Domini*, is frequently repeated in the Trier manuscript whenever the text refers to the Lamb or the One enthroned. cf. Van der Meer, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff., 109 ff., 282 ff. Three types of beasts appear in the Trier *Maiestas* compositions. (1) Full-bodied representations of the beasts placed in the corners and turned inward. Counterclockwise from the top left they are the angel of Matthew, the lion of Mark, the ox of Luke, and the eagle of John, (folios 15v. – 20v.). While half-length beasts are common in fourth and fifth-century art, to my knowledge, the earliest representations of full-bodied beasts appear in the sixth century, i.e. Codex Amiatinus, Florence, Laurentiana, folio 796v. (Zimmerman, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916, 111, Taf. 222) and the beasts with the Evangelists in the mosaics of S. Vitale in Ravenna (M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes*, Geneva, 1914, Figs. 187–189). (2) Beasts in the form of six-winged heads lined in a row – ox, lion, angel, and eagle (folios 23r., 24r. with only two wings, 43r.). This type perhaps is derived from an early tradition established by a famous Palestinian prototype in monumental form that presented the Ascension of Christ with the winged Tetramorphs of Ezekiel below him. It was copied in numerous representations of the sixth century, e.g. Rabula Gospels, Florence, Laurentiana, Plut. 1. 56; frescoes in Baouit Chapels; and the Monza phials – see C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei*, Wiesbaden, 1960, pp. 95–108; W. Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst*, Münster/Westf., 1912, pp. 154 ff. (3) Bust-length beasts in a row with human bodies – ox, lion, angel, eagle (folio 49r.). This curious anthropomorphic form appears in numerous eighth and ninth-century manuscripts in the North: Gellone Sacramentary, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 12048, folios 42v., 115v. (Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, 11, 154, 155); Gospels, Rome, Vat. Barb. lat. 570, folio 1 (Zimmerman, *op. cit.* IV, 317 a); Gospels, Poitiers, Bibl. de la Ville, Ms. 17, folio 31 (A.M. Friend, "The Canon Tables of the Book of Kells", *Studies in Memory of A. K. Porter*, Cambridge, 1939, 11, pp. 611–666; and W. Cook, "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia", *Art Bulletin*, VIII, 1926, pp. 208 ff., Figs. 2, 11–20). Anthropomorphic beasts are also very common in Spanish Mozarabic book illustration including both the Leon Bibles and the Beatus Apocalypse commentaries (Neuss, *Apokalypse*, II, LXVI, LXVIII, LXXXVII, CXI, CXXV) and probably reflect an Early Christian tradition stemming from North Africa where such hybrids were common in art.

PLATE 1

1. The Trier Apocalypse. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 31, fol. 50. The Second, Third, and Fourth Vials are Poured (Rev. XVI. 3–8).

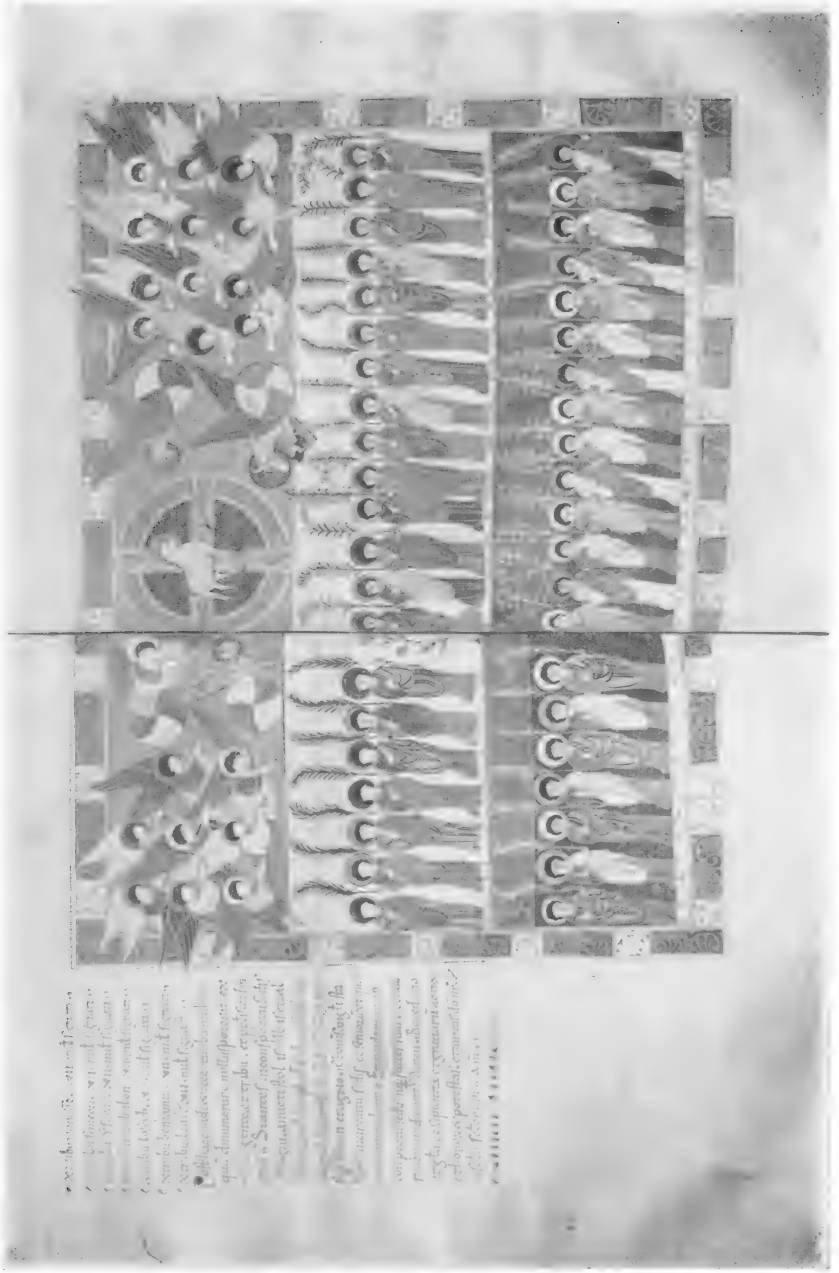
f. p. 152.

2. The Trier Apocalypse. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 31, fol. 17v, The Four Horsemen (Rev. VI. 1–8).

3. The Trier Apocalypse. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 31, fol. 10v, The Message to Sardis (Rev. III. 1–2).

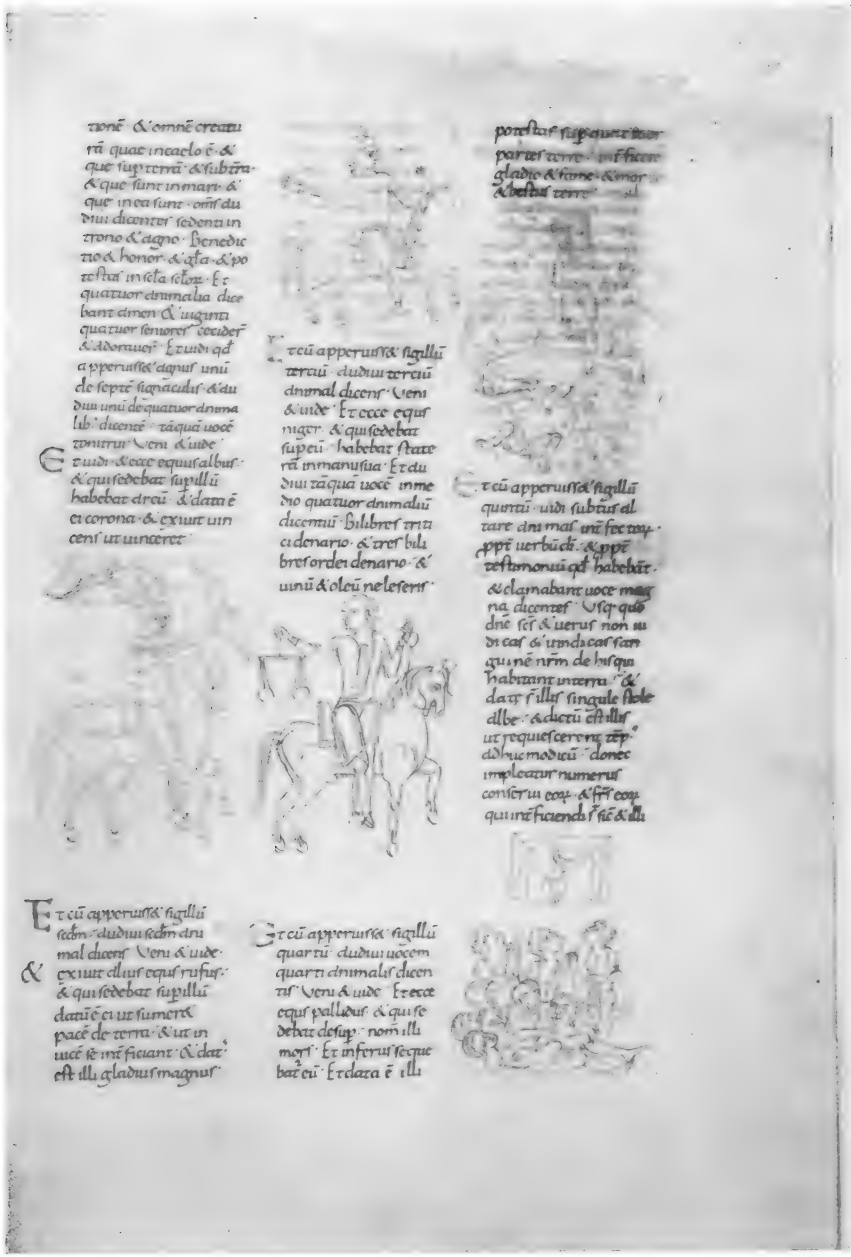
4. The Trier Apocalypse. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 31, fol. 26, The Sounding of the Third and the Fourth Trumpets (Rev. VIII. 10–12).

5. The Trier Apocalypse. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 31, fol. 23, The Adoration of the Lamb (Rev. VII. 9–11).



6. The Saint Sever Apocalypse. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8878, fols. 120v–121, The Adoration of the Lamb (Rev. VII. 9–11).

7. The Beatus of Valladolid. Valladolid, Biblioteca Santa Cruz, fol. 93, The Four Horsemen (Rev. VI. 1–8).



8. The Roda Bible. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6, fol. 106, The Four Horsemen (Rev. VI. 1–8).

cially those for such popular subjects as the *Maiestas Domini*. For the most part, however, it is apparent that the ninth-century illustrator gathered together two or more isolated illustrations in his model to form his own full-page compositions in the fashion common for Carolingian artists. One can conclude from these observations that the model behind the Trier cycle of Apocalypse illustrations was a richly illustrated codex with a few hieratic miniatures, perhaps also full-page in size, and numerous smaller column pictures, framed or unframed, scattered through the text in the manner often found in copies of illustrated manuscripts of the Early Christian period (cf. Fig. 8).[12]

A number of iconographic and stylistic details provide us with clues as to the date of the Early Christian archetype of these illustrations. The portrayal of the One in heaven as the beardless *Christus logos* enthroned on a globe points back to sixth-century representations of Christ such as those in the mosaics of the apse of San Vitale and on the triumphal arch of Parenzo Cathedral.[13] The personifications of the winds as nudes with winged heads and the presence of an angel in the role of a Victory figure also suggest motifs derived from Early Christian sources where pagan symbol

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[12] E.g. the following western copies of pagan and Early Christian manuscripts: (1) Carolingian Terence manuscripts (L. Jones and C. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence*, Princeton, 1931, 2 vols.), (2) Chronicles of Ravenna (B. Bischoff and W. Koehler, "Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der spätantiken ravennater Annalen", *Medieval Studies in Memory A. K. Porter*, Cambridge, 1939, 1, pp. 125–138), (3), Carolingian Prudentius manuscripts (R. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften*, Berlin, 1895; H. Woodruff, "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius", *Art Studies*, VII, 1929, pp. 39–79), (4) Carolingian Physiologus manuscripts (H. Woodruff, "The Physiologus of Bern", *Art Bulletin*, XII, 1930, pp. 226–253), (5) Catalan and Mozarabic Bible cycles (Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1922). Cf. the discussion by D. Diringer, *The Illuminated Book*, New York, n.d., pp. 30–59; K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 69 ff., Figs. 56–87. Numerous examples can be cited in Byzantine book illustration, see Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff., 89 ff., etc. For the term *column picture* see Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff., 83 ff.

[13] Berchem and Clouzot, *op. cit.*, Figs. 184, 221. Other examples of this type appear in manuscripts of theTours School (Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pl. XXXVI, XLV) which presumably copy models of the sixth century.

and allegory often had a direct role in the formation of Christian types. Furthermore, details such as books in the form of scrolls, Roman costumes, antique furniture, and towered cities, closely resemble those found in the arts of the fifth and sixth centuries and earlier.[14] The archetype of this cycle could have dated as early as the fourth century, when motifs from the Apocalypse suddenly appear in abundance in Christian art due, perhaps, to the inspiration of the prologues and Vulgate translation of Jerome. To be more precise as to the date of the model employed by the illustrator of the Trier manuscript, however, certain stylistic features indicate that it belonged to the sixth century. The meager representations of landscape, the lack of interest in realistic detail, and the shallow integration of figures in space, resemble stylistic traits of works attributed to the sixth century such as the illustrations in the Gospels of S. Augustine and the Cotton Bible and the nave mosaics in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna.[15]

The hypothesis that the Trier Apocalypse preserves the essential character of an Early Christian cycle of illustrations for the Book of Revelation is further supported by the fact that the miniatures show no influence of the numerous commentaries on the Apocalypse that were widespread in Latin Christendom by the seventh and

[14] Only a few of these relationships will be listed here. For sculpture see J. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, Rome, 1929–1936, esp. tav. XXI, XXII, XXV–3, CXXI–2 and 3, for similar architecture, boats and chariots. Identical angel types and figure style appear in ivories reproduced by W. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1952, Abb. 48, 112–113. The angels with trumpets in mosaics on the arch of S. Michele in Affricisco, Ravenna (now Berlin), the angels and Christ type in the choir of S. Vitale, Ravenna, and the general compositions and figure style in the narrative mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (Berchem and Clouzot, *op. cit.*, Figs. 217, 184, 185, 190, 191, 145–169) reveal the same association. For book illustration see below n. 15.

[15] The similarities between the Trier Apocalypse and the S. Augustine Gospels have already been noted by F. Wormwald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of S. Augustine*, Cambridge, 1954, p. 15. Compositions such as that of the Message to Ephesus (Appendix, folio 6v.) are stylistically close to some of the miniatures of the Cotton Genesis such as the Peiresc copy of the Third Day of Creation (see K. Weitzmann, "Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments", *Late Classical Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, Princeton. 1955, pp. 112 ff. and Fig. 3). For the problems of sixth-century style in general consult R. Bianci-Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad*, Olten, 1955, Introduction.

eighth centuries. The absence of tituli, such as those that accompany other Apocalypse picture books is still another factor in this respect. [16] At this point, it is instructive to analyze the illustrations of the commentaries on the Apocalypse written by Beatus of Liebana, because they too are important for the reconstruction of Early Christian illustrations. Next to the Trier Apocalypse the Beatus manuscripts contain the most extensive picture cycles for the Book of Revelation in pre-Romanesque art. The earliest examples with illustrations are dated in the tenth century, but historians of Spanish art are in general agreement that the prototype for the illustrated copies was probably the original manuscript of the commentaries made up by the author himself, Beatus of Liebana, a Spanish monk who lived in the Asturias in the eighth century.

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[16] For an analysis of these tituli see Neuss, *Apokalypse*, I, pp. 239 ff., and Juraschek, *Die Apokalypse von Valenciennes*, pp. 14 ff. The one exception is the Apocalypse manuscript in Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 386 – see A. Molinier, *Catalogue général des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, XVII, Cambrai*, Paris, 1891, p. vii, 142; a complete description of the illustrations is given in H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff., pls. XXIX–XXXI; also see Boinet, *op. cit.*, Pls. CLIII–B, CLVI–A and B, CLIV–B. The Cambrai Apocalypse is probably a tenth-century copy of the Trier Apocalypse, and it has been generally assumed that it was the product of a scriptorium in North France since the manuscript was recorded in the Cathedral Library of Cambrai in the tenth century (a fact which might help locate the Trier manuscript at that time as well). Whether or not this provenance is the right one, one can observe that the Cambrai Apocalypse, with approximately twenty-seven folios missing, has forty-six full-page illustrations that copy those in the Trier cycle down to the smallest detail. Identical compositional arrangements, similar painting techniques with water color brushed over ink drawings, and many other agreements support this conclusion. Furthermore, there can be no question that the Cambrai illustrations are later than those of the Trier manuscript, and while some scholars have been troubled over the close relationships (the Cambrai Apocalypse is usually called a "sister" of the Trier), to introduce a third manuscript with an identical picture cycle is an unnecessary complication. Cf. H. Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 86; « On peut ajouter qu'ils sont la copie sinon l'un de l'autre, du moins d'un original commun ». Neuss, *Apokalypse*, I, p. 249, refers to the Trier Apocalypse as the *Schwester-Hs.* of the Cambrai. That the Trier manuscript does not copy the Cambrai is suggested not only on stylistic grounds but also on the basis of the preliminary sketches in the back of the Trier manuscript (folios 74–75) that are much more detailed than the Cambrai versions and by the fact that books are occasionally substituted for scrolls in the Cambrai illustrations.

If this is true, then a comparison of the illustrations of Beatus with those of the Carolingian miniaturist would be of great interest and importance for this study. [17]

The commentaries of Beatus are complex in their makeup with numerous texts and commentaries by earlier writers added to those of the author himself. The introduction is lengthy with a dedication to Bishop Etherius of Osma (a friend of Beatus), a prologue dedicated to John the Evangelist attributed to S. Jerome, a second prologue in the form of a letter from S. Jerome to Anatolius, and, finally, a summary of the commentaries presumably derived from a synopsis of the Apocalypse written by Tyconius, a fourth-century Donatist. [18] The commentaries of Beatus are gathered in twelve books. The books are organized according to the narrative *storiae*, sixty-four in all, taken directly from the text of the Book of Revelation, with each *storia* followed by the interpretation or *explanatio* of Beatus. Various digressions appear from time to time. At the beginning of Book Two, for instance, Beatus introduced a long *Prologus de Ecclesia et Sinagoga* that presents a discussion of the names, saints, heresies, symbolic beasts, etc. The second book ends with an interpretation of the ark of Noah as the model of the Christian church. In a number of manuscripts excerpts from *De civitate dei* (Book XX, ch. 19) of Augustine are added to Book Six together with complex tables for determining the name and the number of the Antichrist (cf. Revelation XIII.

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[17] The bibliography on the Beatus manuscripts is too extensive to discuss here, see Neuss, *Apokalypse*, I, pp. 5 ff. Important cultural exchanges between France and Spain began in the eighth and ninth centuries under Charlemagne with his campaigns in northern Spain in 778 and his religious alliances with the Spanish against Adoptianism (Beatus of Liebana fought against this heresy). It was during the ninth century that there first appeared in Galicia the cult of Saint James which was to bring about the pilgrimage traffic that linked northern Spain and France so tightly during the Romanesque period. For a fundamental study of the foreign influences in Spanish art of the pre-Romanesque and Romanesque periods see W. Cook, "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia", *Art Bulletin*, V, 1923, pp. 85–101; VI, 1923, pp. 31–60; VIII, 1925, pp. 57–104; VIII, 1926, pp. 195–234; X, 1927, pp. 153–204; X, 1928, pp. 305–365.

[18] The text has been published by H. A. Sanders, *Beati in Apocalipsin* (American Academy in Rome), Rome, 1930. For a discussion of textual sources see H. Vogels, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinische Apokalypse-übersetzung*, Düsseldorf, 1920, pp. 70 ff.

18) which was one of the most intriguing puzzles in the Apocalypse for the earlier commentators. Finally, in many of the Beatus manuscripts the commentaries of Jerome on the Book of Daniel are appended to the text of Beatus.[19] Clearly then, unlike the Trier Apocalypse, the Spanish texts display a complex compilation or anthology of diverse commentaries and writings relevant for the interpretation of the Apocalypse, and this fact is important when we turn to the illustrations of the latter.

The illustrations in the Beatus manuscripts show the same diversity and mixed ancestry as the text. In general, two types of illustrations appear: full-page compositions of hieratic and emblematic character and smaller narrative pictures presented in the form of framed or unframed miniatures scattered throughout the text. Those of the first type were borrowed, in most cases, from quite obvious sources. The Alpha and Omega, placed respectively at the beginning and at the end of the commentaries, were common symbols of Christ in the Apocalypse that appear much earlier in Christian art. The Cross of Oviedo, at one time a sign of Spanish resistance to the Moslems, was a popular apocalyptic motif employed frequently in Merovingian books, and in the Beatus manuscripts it is sometimes paired with an impressive portrait of Christ in Majesty that at once brings to mind the *Maiestas Domini* images in the manuscripts of Tours.[20] Finally, as part of the introduction, portraits of the Evangelists that can be traced to Early Christian types were frequently introduced.[21]

The narrative illustrations, sometimes gathered together on one page in registers, display an equally mixed and confusing

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[19] Neuss, *Apokalypse*, I, pp. 222–236.

[20] Neuss, *Apokalypse*, I, pp. 112–116, II, Taf. 1–5.

[21] The Evangelist stands under an architectural enframement with the symbolic beast and presents his book to Christ who is enthroned to the left – Neuss, *Apokalypse*, II, Taf. VI–IX. This little-known type survives in a ninth-century Italian Gospels, Perugia Capitulary Library, Ms. 2 (Diringer, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI–i, e-f), in the ninth-century Gospels of Livinius, S. Bavo, Ghent (K. Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting*, 1957, p. 162), and in a thirteenth-century Spanish Bible, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Mss. 2–3 (I thank John Williams, who is preparing a study of the Leon Bibles, for this reference). For the Beatus and the Livinius portraits also see W. Köhler, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, Munich, 1923, I, pp. 8 ff., Taf. 2; and O. Homburger, *op. cit.*, p. 194, Abb. 14, 15.

character with many pictures accompanying the commentaries that are unrelated to the text of the Book of Revelation.[22] Those for the *storiae* of the Apocalypse present a special problem, and the question that arises is whether or not these illustrations were special inventions of Beatus or simply pictures borrowed from an established cycle of illustrations for the Apocalypse text. Except for a few intrusions,[23] the illustrations of the *storiae* proper correspond to the text of the Book of Revelation, and, in fact, there are some similarities between these pictures and the miniatures in the Trier Apocalypse as far as the selection of episodes illustrated and certain details of iconography are concerned.[24] The fact that

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[22] In the introduction of some of the manuscripts, episodes from the life of Christ are added to genealogical tables that chart the generations from Adam to Christ, a popular device borrowed from Spanish Mozarabic Bibles. For the *Prologus de Ecclesia et Sinagoga* a sprawling representation of the *mappa mundi* as a direct reference to the Mission of the Apostles is often included, and, in one family of Beatus manuscripts, portraits of the Apostles appear at this point, and in others representations of the beasts and the statue from the Book of Daniel are added. At the end of Book Two one finds the colorful depiction of the ark of Noah to accompany the discussion of the ark as the model of the church, and still another narrative cycle is appended to those manuscripts with the commentaries on the Book of Daniel with fanciful illustrations of such visions as Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the statue and the rolling stone (Daniel II. 1–34) and the dream of the tree into heaven (Daniel IV). These illustrations are unframed miniatures in most cases suggesting that they probably were copied from a very early Book of Daniel with illustrations. For a discussion of these see Neuss, *Apokalypse*, I, pp. 119–133, 222–236, II, Taf. X–XXVII, CXXXIX–CXLIV, XLVII–LII, LX–LXIII; and Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration*, Bonn, 1922, p. 73, 89–94; Figs. 98–102, 169.

[23] These are, significantly, found in the explanation of Beatus that follows the text of the *storia* including the palm tree that sometimes serves as an illustration for the commentary on Revelation VII. 4–12; "Quod autem ait, *palmae in manibus eorum*; nec inmerito justorum vita palmae comparatur", with the murder of Elias and Enoch who are named in the tituli as the anonymous witnesses killed by the beast from the pit (XI. 7–10); and the fox and the chicken from Aesop's fable (?) that serve as pictorial footnotes to the commentary for XIII. 11: "Vulpicula enim fallax est animal, et insidiis semper intenta rapinam fraudis exercet", Neuss, *Apokalypse*, I, pp. 163, 176–180, 188, 189.

[24] The authority on the iconography of the Beatus manuscripts, Wilhelm Neuss, rejected any relationship between the two, concluding that the Trier Apocalypse reflected an *altgallischer Zyklus* while the Beatus derived

the miniatures in the Beatus manuscripts look nothing like the Trier illustrations in general stylistic features does not, however, rule out the possibility of a common archetype for the iconography of the Apocalypse illustrations. One must seek out the individual iconographic units for consideration and not regard the style of composition of the page as a whole when investigating these relationships. The Mozarabic style of the Beatus manuscripts displays very decorative, two-dimensional patterns of figures and objects on the page when compared to the more straightforward illustrations in the Carolingian miniatures. The interest in colorful patterns led the Spanish artists to produce schematic and emblematic compositions with the narratives flattened into heraldic designs so that landscapes are pressed into maps and figures are simplified until they resemble badges or butterflies pinned to the page. Beneath this colorful style of the Mozarabic miniatures one can discern vestiges of a more naturalistic prototype, however,[25] and if one isolates the individual textual episodes for study rather than the page as a whole, a number of correspondences between these

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from an Early Christian prototype from Spain or North Africa (*Apokalypse* I, pp. 237 ff.)

[25] Neuss, *Apokalypse*, I, pp. 237 ff., I believe ,went too far with the theory that the S. Sever Apocalypse (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8878) best preserves the naturalistic character of the prototype of the Beatus illustrations. This tempting theory must be seriously qualified on numerous counts. The style of the S. Sever illustrations is Romanesque and, hence, appears more naturalistic by virtue of the fact that it is the least Mozarabic of the earlier copies. Secondly, the *style* of the Beatus original, if by Beatus himself, must be reconstructed on the basis of Asturian art of the eighth and ninth centuries and not on the style of the Early Christian period. Thirdly, the relationships that Neuss suggested between the S. Sever Apocalypse and the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. lat. 2334) are extremely vague, and, furthermore, the date and the provenance of this key manuscript are still seriously debated both in terms of style and palaeography (Tours, Spain, or North Africa?). At any rate, there are no stylistic parallels to the Ashburnham Pentateuch known to me in Visigothic Spain, and the scanty remains of Christian art before the tenth century reveal a totally different picture including provincial copying of Late Antique models (e.g. the Écija sarcophagus, the jamb reliefs of San Miguel de Liño, the frescoes of Santullano), parallels to Merovingian and Carolingian style (Bible of the Monastery of Cava dei Tirreni, frescoes in San Miguel de Tarrasa), and anticipations of the Mozarabic (Codex Toletanus) – for discussion and illustrations see J. Lozoya, *Historia del Arte Hispánico*, I, Barcelona, 1931, pp. 171 ff.

illustrations and those in the Trier manuscript appear. First of all, it should be noted that the density of the illustrations in the cycle of the *storiae* illustrations in the Spanish books is about the same as that in the Trier Apocalypse, approximately 150 episodes, although this fact in itself means little. With a few exceptions, the lines of the text illustrated are identical in both groups, and, more important, some general iconographic relationships are apparent in a number of episodes. In the illustrations of some of the repetitive sequences, such as the Messages to the Seven Churches, where John confronts the angel before a diminutive basilica each time, the similarities are perhaps of too general a nature to be of great value. More significant, however, are the organizations of the more complex visions of John, e.g. the Multitude before the Throne of the One in Heaven, the Adoration of the Lamb, etc., where similar tripartite hierarchies of figures appear (Figs. 5 and 6). In the illustration of the Four Angels holding the Four Winds the positions of the four figures correspond, and the appearance of winged heads held in the hands of angels as personifications of the winds might further indicate a common tradition.[26] Of special interest is the comparison of the representation of the Four Horsemen in the Beatus manuscripts and the Trier Apocalypse. The first horseman in the Beatus of Valladolid (Fig. 7) is "given a crown" (VI. 2) by an angel or *Nike*, which the text does not specify, just as in the Trier illustrations for this passage (Fig. 2). The addition of a demon with wings and arms upheld behind the fourth horseman as the *infernus* that followed him (VI. 8) is a pictorial motif that appears in the Carolingian representation in a somewhat abbreviated form. Other similarities in the compositions, such as the two-by-two placement of the four horsemen, are probably coincidental, but this mode of organization raises an interesting problem that was briefly discussed above. The order of appearance of the four riders in the Beatus miniature makes better sense and is easier to read than in the Trier illustration simply because the horses are reversed in direction implying that they move out from right to left. The awkward inversion in the Trier picture can be explained, however, if one assumes that the artist worked from a model with individual column pictures, one for

[26] Neuss, *Apokalypse*, II, LXXIII, LXXV, LXXVI.

each rider, and that he composed them on the page as he worked from the top left to the lower right. In the Beatus of Valladolid (or its model) the organization was more meaningful. Fortunately, a good reflection of how such a sequence of column pictures would appear in an Early Christian manuscript is found in another Spanish book of the eleventh century, the Roda Bible in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Cod. lat. 6),[27] where the first eight chapters of the Book of Revelation are illustrated. Here again, as in the Trier and Beatus illustrations, two types of miniatures appear: the more impressive and hieratic visions of the Adoration of the Lamb, etc., and the smaller, more direct narratives presented in the form of framed or unframed miniatures here placed directly in the columns of the text.[28] In the representation of the Four Horsemen (Fig. 8) we find a reflection of what the Early Christian archetype could well resemble with each rider appearing in the column of the text after the appropriate lines. The presence of the crown offered to the first horseman and the diabolic *infernus* that follows the fourth suggest that the pictorial tradition may be related to those in the Trier and the Beatus cycles. This conclusion is born out by other comparisons, such as the series for the Messages to the Seven Churches where John, the angel, and the diminutive church appear in much the same fashion as they do in the Trier Apocalypse, but, again, dispersed through the text as individual column pictures.[29]

Admittedly, the evidence presented here does not permit one to ascertain the iconographic stemma for the pictures in these manuscripts or to define their interrelationships very precisely.[30] However,

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[27] Neuss, *katal. Bibelill.*, pp. 10–15, 131–133.

[28] Neuss, *katal. Bibell.*, Figs. 173, 175–182.

[29] The curious illustrations below the proceeding column in the Roda Bible, "and the kings of the earth, and every bondman, and every freeman, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains" (VI. 15), while missing in the Trier Apocalypse, appears in much the same fashion in the Beatus cycle. Neuss, *katal. Bibelill.*, Figs. 182, 183; *Apokalypse*, II, Pl. LXXII.

[30] The Berlin Apocalypse (Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Theol. lat. 561) is a remote reflection of the same Apocalypse picture cycle. The text of the manuscript follows the commentaries of Beatus, but it is apparent at first sight that the style of its illustrations in no way resembles that of the Spanish books. Presumably the work of a Lombard scriptorium in the twelfth century, the Berlin Apocalypse has fifty-four miniatures, framed and unframed,

from these observations the existence of an illustrated Apocalypse of the Early Christian period, one that was transmitted to the later Carolingian and Spanish scriptoria probably through intermediate copies, seems certain. While both the stylistic and iconographic characteristics of this early cycle of pictures have been obscured in the Beatus illustrations, the simplicity and the directness of Early Christian models are more faithfully preserved in the Trier copy. Any study of the iconography of the Book of Revelation must begin with this valuable manuscript.[31]

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that reveal a distant kinship with the Trier cycle. The stylistic differences between this Beatus and those produced in Spain are disconcerting. Apparently, the scribe of the Italian manuscript copied a standard Beatus text, while the illustrator had access to a non-Mozarabic model whose pictures belonged to the same Early Christian picture recension – Neuss, *Apokalypse*, I, pp. 247-267; II, CLII–CLXIV; Vogels, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff. Among isolated miniatures derived from Apocalypse cycles are: S. John with the Angel of the Apocalypse and Christ in the ninth-century Juvenianus Codex, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS. B. 25[2], folio 67 v. (W. Messerer, "Zum Juvenianus-Codex der Biblioteca Vallicelliana", *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae*, Rome, 1961, pp. 58 ff., Fig. 33); John, Angels and Enthroned Christ in a tenth-century Beda, *in Apocalypsin*, Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 176, folio 6 (E. Dewald, "The Art of the Scriptorium of Einsiedeln", *Art Bulletin*, VII, 1925, pp. 85 ff., Fig. 35); tenth-century German All Saints pictures based on Revelation V, 6–12, VII, 2–12 such as in the Göttingen Sacramentary, Göttingen University Library, cod. theol. 231, folio III (G. Richter and A. Schönfelder, *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Abtei und Diozese Fulda*, IX, Fulda, 1912, pl. 33); Adoration of the Lamb and the Man with the Sickle in a fragmentary Romanesque Apocalypse, Basel, University Library, N. I. 4. Blatt C (K. Escher, *Die Miniaturen in den Basler Bibliotheken, Museen und Archiven*, Basel, 1917, p. 36. Taf. IX).

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OBSERVATIONS STYLISTIQUES ET LINGUISTIQUES CHEZ ISIDORE DE PÉLUSE

PAR

G. J. M. BARTELINK

D'Isidore de Péluse nous possédons plus de deux mille lettres, pour la plupart assez courtes, qui sont écrites dans un style soigné, agréable et plutôt simple.[1] Ces lettres sont adressées à des moines, à des évêques et à des laics de rang divers et elles contiennent des exhortations, des leçons et des paroles de consolation dans un ton très sympathique.

Isidore se sert de la langue avec une exactitude qui pour un moine est bien remarquable, et, comme il ressort des citations prises dans plus d'un auteur classique, il est bien au courant de la littérature grecque classique. Sa préférence pour le style atticisant l'amène à éviter quelquefois une expression spécifiquement chrétienne. C'est cette tendance qui lui fait préférer *μελῳδός* à *ψαλμιστής* et *δημιουργός* à *κτίστης*: son purisme s'étend quelquefois jusqu'aux termes chrétiens.[2] Des jeux de mots de caractère peu populaire accentuent des intérêts pour la rhétorique, qui chez Isidore certainement ne manquent pas.[3]

On peut supposer à bon droit qu'Isidore a reçu son éducation à l'école catéchétique d'Alexandrie, où, comme on sait, on enseignait outre les sciences religieuses également les disciplines profanes. Gertrud Redl a attiré l'attention sur la culture assez grande du moine de Péluse, qui se manifeste dans ses lettres.[4] Ça ne veut

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[1] Nous citerons d'après l'édition de Migne, Patrologia Graeca 78 (le premier chiffre désigne le livre des lettres, le second le numéro de la lettre, le troisième la colonne de l'édition de Migne).

[2] P.e. 3, 139, 584 A: *Διὰ τοῦ Μελῳδοῦ προεμήνυσε*; 5, 162, 1420 A: *Ὅτι δὲ θεῖόν ἐστι δῶρον, ἄκουε τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ τῷ Ἰὼβ διαλεγομένου.*

[3] P.e. 4, 6, 1053 C: *Ἡ οἴησις προκοπῆς ἐστιν ἐγκοπή*, et 2, 43, 485 A: *τὰς ἱερὰς παραγράφονται Γραφάς.*

[4] Isidor von Pelusium als Sophist, *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte* 47 (N.F. 10), 1928, p. 325–332.

pas dire qu'Isidore ait lu lui-même tous les auteurs qu'il cite; il vivait à une époque qui se servait en grande partie de manuels. Mais, selon Gertrud Redl, Isidore a eu une éducation comme sophiste et a pratiqué comme tel. Elle allègue plusieurs arguments: Isidore est au courant de certains commentaires sur les auteurs classiques, fait caractéristique pour l'éducation des sophistes; en plus il y a la forme très soignée des lettres, et la connaissance de la théorie du style épistolaire, dont Isidore fait preuve.

Bien qu'il soit douteux qu'on puisse tirer une conclusion si poussée, l'on ne déniera pas qu'Isidore possède des connaissances littéraires qui se détachent assez favorablement sur le fond de son temps. Il y a déjà un demi-siècle que M. Bayer a consacré une étude en premier lieu à l'étendue et à la profondeur de cette culture d'Isidore.[5] Il s'ensuit de cette étude qu'Isidore pourtant est surpassé par des rhéteurs tels que Libane, Himère, Thémiste et par son contemporain Synèse. M. Bayer analyse les données qu'Isidore nous procure d'une façon assez critique. C'est ainsi qu'il conclut à bon droit que p.e. les caractéristiques qu'Isidore donne des genres littéraires ne prouvent pas qu'il ait lu tous les auteurs dont il parle, que ses citations sont restreintes aux auteurs scolaires et qu'elles proviennent pour la plupart des florilèges en cours.

Nous ne voulons pas nous occuper ici de la profondeur de la culture d'Isidore, mais nous nous proposons d'offrir un aperçu de ses opinions sur la langue et sur le style et de régistrer les termes qu'il commente quant au sens ou quant à la forme et à l'étymologie. Après des observations stylistiques d'Isidore d'ordre général nous présenterons ses idées sur la langue et sur le style de la Sainte Ecriture. Ensuite nous nous proposons de traiter des étymologies et des explications de sens qui se trouvent dans l'œuvre d'Isidore.

I. Les observations stylistiques de nature générale

Nulle part Isidore ne décèle l'admiration que lui inspirent les auteurs profanes, mais il a une notion claire du fait que la rhétorique

[5] L. Bayer, *Isidors von Pelusium klassische Bildung* (Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte 13, 2), Paderborn 1915. Comp. encore: N. Capo, De Isidori Pelusiotae epistularum locis ad antiquitatem pertinentibus, *Bessarione* 6, Ser. 2, vol. 1, 1901/02, p. 342–363; C. H. Turner, The Letters of S. Isidore of Pelusium, *Journ. Theol. St.* 6, 1904/5, p. 70–85; D. S. Balanos, *Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Πηλουσιώτης*, Athènes 1922.

pour le chrétien n'est pas plus qu'une *ancilla*, et que l'*εὐγλωττία* ne peut être pour lui qu'un moyen, mais jamais le but. D'une part Isidore est convaincu comme l'admet M. Bayer, de l'utilité et de la nécessité pratique de la culture classique, d'autre part selon lui celle-ci ne doit jamais prévaloir. Il sait très bien que dans les écrits des auteurs profanes se trouvent des trésors qui pour le chrétien ne perdent rien de leur valeur.

Si poli et recherché que soit le style d'Isidore, il n'attribue lui-même à l'éloquence qu'une signification relative. Il ne faut pas, selon lui, orner du nom de sages ceux qui cherchent de belles phrases, les rhéteurs et les dialecticiens, ou ceux qui se targuent de leur habileté rhétorique, mais ceux qui excellent dans la pratique de la philosophie, c'est à dire dans la vie chrétienne (2,201,645 B). La beauté de la langue n'est pas plus que les feuilles, mais la vertu constitue le fruit (1,477,1604 D). Si pour Isidore la parole est une chose divine *(θεῖον χρῆμα)*, la vertu est plus divine encore (*θειότερον* 3,118,821 C).

On retrouve chez lui des arguments bien connus. C'est ainsi qu'il dit que les sophistes par leur manque de clarté (causé par le flux de paroles dont ils ont la coutume de se servir) dérobent souvent à nos yeux la beauté de la vérité et qu'ils embellissent le mensonge au moyen de phrases gracieuses en préparant de cette manière du poison dans une coupe d'or (4,67,1125 A).

Le moine de Péluse apprécie lui-même les grands auteurs classiques comme il ressort de chaque page de ses écrits, mais l'échelle de valeurs qu'il défend montre que cette appréciation n'a rien d'absolu. Il appelle sages ceux qui ne marchent pas sur les traces de l'*ὕψος* de Platon, de la *σεμνότης* de Thucydide et de la *δεινότης* de Démosthène,[6] mais ceux qui rendent compte des doctrines divines (5,497, 1613 D–1616 A).

Bien qu'Isidore sache que pour un chrétien il n'y a qu'une chose qui soit nécessaire, son attitude envers la littérature classique n'est nulle part négative. Aux anachorètes pourtant, qui suivent une règle austère, il donne des directives plus sévères. Il ne convient pas au moine, selon Isidore, de lire des écrits profanes (1,63,224 B–C).

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[6] Sur la *δεινότης* de Démosthène, terme qui trahit la tradition du rhéteur Hermogène qui considérait Démosthène comme le modèle de style le plus important, comp. W. Kroll, *Rhetorik*, 1937, § 40.

Ici encore il ne faut pas voir une condamnation de la littérature profane. Par cette exhortation Isidore veut plutôt accentuer l'importance de la lecture de l'Ecriture Sainte qui doit être pour le moine la nourriture spirituelle principale. Il veut empêcher que la lecture des auteurs profanes se fasse aux dépens de celle de la Bible.[7]

Isidore fait preuve d'une préférence très accusée pour l'usage de la langue simple atticisante. Il estime davantage la clarté et la pureté de style que les ambages et les termes pompeux qui ne font qu'obscurcir la vérité (3,42,760 B). Le vrai Atticisme, dit-il en se servant des mots de Plutarque, se caractérise par la clarté et la simplicité (2,42,484 C).[8] Mais ce n'est point pour lui une norme inviolable. Quand il conseille au chrétien qui enseigne les vérités de la foi, de ne pas faire usage d'une style trop abondant (5,163,1489 C) ni d'un style vulgaire et mal soigné, il admet pourtant que bien que la langue ne soit pas de l'Attique pur, les exemples et le contenu religieux pourront captiver les élèves. C'est le contenu qui l'emporte, mais celui qui enseigne les vérités chrétiennes a bien le devoir d'employer un style qui est soigné autant que possible.[9]

II. Observations sur la langue et sur le style de l'ecriture sainte [10]

Selon Isidore la langue simple de l'Ecriture (*μελισταγής*, coulant de miel 4,208,1301 C) [11] a de grands avantages. L'Ecriture emploie

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[7] Sur la lecture de la Bible chez les moines: H. Dörries, Die Bibel im ältesten Mönchtum, *Theol. Lit. Ztg.* 72, 1947, col. 215–222.

[8] Gertrud Redl déduit des lettres 3, 57 et 5, 133 qu'Isidore a été sophiste avant de devenir moine. Il est incontestable qu'Isidore connaissait bien les préceptes stylistiques du style épistolaire.

[9] On trouvera chez Isidore aussi des observations de détail très réussies, p.e. sur la question rhétorique 5, 375, 1552 A: « Celui qui ne prononce pas un jugement explicite, mais qui demande et laisse la conclusion au jugement des auditeurs, rend sa démonstration plus évidente et effective par la forme de sa question ».

[10] Comp. pour des observations analogues chez Basile: G. Bartelink, Observations de S. Basile sur la langue biblique et théologique, *Vig. Christ.* 17, 1963, p. 85–104.

[11] Comp. p.e. Jérôme, *Chron. a Abr.* praef., P.L. 27, 36 A: *Denique quid Psalterio canorius?*

une langue simple afin que les illettrés et les sages, les femmes et les enfants puissent la comprendre (4,67,1125 A). Au contraire les auteurs profanes cherchent en premier lieu leur gloire personnelle (4,91,1152 C et 4,140,1220 C) et Isidore y oppose les paroles de l'Ecriture, qui ne visent qu'au salut des hommes. L'Ecriture ne veut parler que d'une manière claire et compréhensible et ne pas s'imposer.[12]

Platon, selon Isidore, ne sut pas convaincre un seul tyran, mais la vérité chrétienne remplit le ciel et la terre (4,28,1081 A): « Notre religion était prêchée par des illettrés, et par des pauvres gens, ignorants les règles de rhétorique. Mais notre doctrine s'est répandue avec la rapidité de l'éclair ». C'était le contenu qui en était la cause. La sagesse païenne se composait de mythes mensongers, mais la foi chrétienne de doctrine célestes (1,270,344 A).

Isidore souligne le contraste entre l'erreur avec ses syllogismes raffinés et sa langue attique pure et le christianisme qui est bien pauvre au point de vue stylistique. Mais cependant l'erreur a dû donner la priorité à la vérité (2,198,644 B). Le désavantage apparent du caractère inapprêté et non-littéraire *(ἄκομπον καὶ ἀγράμματον)* de la langue qu'emploient les disciples du Christ est précisément une preuve de la force de l'Evangile (1,268,341 C) et ce qui semblait être un désavantage apparut être justement un avantage (4,30,1084 A).

Le contraste entre la forme simple et le contenu précieux est illustré par Isidore au moyen d'une interprétation du texte: « Nous avons un trésor dans des vases de terre » (2 Cor. 4,7). De ce passage il donne deux interprétations dont la dernière est conçue en ces termes: « Nous avons la richesse de la sagesse divine dans les Ecritures divines, contenue dans des mots et des exemples simples ». C'est le pouvoir de Dieu qui se manifeste dans le fait que les apôtres n'avaient aucune formation littéraire et aucune culture oratoire et que pourtant ils l'emportaient sur les sages de ce monde (2,4,460 B).

La langue de la sagesse divine est simple, dit Isidore, mais les pensées qui sont exprimées au moyen de cette langue sont de

[12] Comp. p.e. aussi Jérôme, *Hom. Orig. in Ies. et Ezech.* Prol., P.L. 25, 585 A: *id magnopere curans, ut idioma supradicti viri* (=Ezechiel) *a simplicitate sermonis, quae sola Ecclesiis prodest, etiam translatio conservaret, omni rhetoricae artis splendore contempto: res quippe volumus, non verba laudare.*

grande allure. Le style de la sagesse profane par contre est magnifique, mais la réalité est peu édifiante. Au style splendide des auteurs profanes ne correspond pas souvent un contenu analogue (5,281,1500 D).[13] La langue sert exclusivement à rendre les pensées. Elle doit être un instrument, comme une lyre pour un lyrode (chanteur à la lyre). Sa tâche est de servir, non de dominer (5,281,1500 D).

Exiger que la langue ne soit simplement qu'un instrument, comme les auteurs chrétiens l'ont revendiqué à plusieurs reprises forme un vrai contraste avec les idées et la pratique généralement admises par les auteurs non-chrétiens. C'est ainsi que Lactance peut dire p.e. (*Inst.* 5,1,18 = C.S.E.L. 19,401,14–15): *nemo rem veritate ponderat, sed ornatu. non credunt ergo divinis, quia fuco carent.* Le caractère exclusif de la littérature classique avec son culte de la forme n'est pas accepté par les chrétiens.[14] Isidore considère comme un avantage le fait que la langue biblique est simple puisque de cette manière ce qui est clair sert à rendre quelque peu accessible ce qui n'est pas évident (4,82,1145 A).

Isidore se rend bien compte que les illettrés forment justement la grande masse. Le christianisme qui s'adresse à tout le monde doit être prêché dans une langue facilement intelligible. Il n'y a que peu de gens, selon Isidore, qui s'intéressent à la rhétorique, et le fait que l'Ecriture est d'un style simple ne leur fait pas tort. Pour les autres, donc pour la grande masse, la clarté au contraire n'est qu'un avantage. Et il y ajoute que la brièveté et la précision se détachent favorablement sur la prolixité de beaucoup d'auteurs non-chrétiens (4,91,1152 C). Cette concision de la langue des Evangiles vient du fait, selon Isidore, que les auteurs sont des illettrés (*ἰδιωτικοί* 4,76,1136 B–C).

Mais en acceptant ces principes il se montre sans cesse l'érudit lui-même et chez lui aussi se manifeste dans une certaine mesure le

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[13] Comp. Arnobe sur l'attention trop grande pour le style (*Nat.* 2, 6, C.S.E.L. 4, 51): *quia ... voces barbaras soloecismosque vitare* (sc. *scitis*) *... idcirco vos arbitramini scire, quid sit falsum, quid verum?*

[14] Comp. aussi St. Jean Chrysostome, *Contra Jud.*, P.G. 48, 813: « Dans le langage de la bible on ne trouve pas de rhétorique emphatique pour qu'il soit simple et accessible aussi aux esclaves et aux servantes, aux veuves, aux commerçants, aux matelots et aux paysans ». Id. P.G. 51, 87, *In princ. Act.* 3: *καὶ σολοικίζουσι μὲν τῷ φθόγγῳ, εὐσεβοῦσι δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ.*

désaccord entre théorie et pratique si fréquent chez les auteurs chrétiens. Afin de montrer que ceux qui prêchent des choses divines n'ont pas besoin de doctrines d'hommes et qu'ils ne sont pas soumis à des préceptes de rhétorique, Isidore fait appel justement à un texte d'Homère, ce qui est bien caractéristique pour son attitude (*Od.* 22,347 *αὐτοδίδακτός εἰμι*: 4,30,1084 A).

Dans un texte bien intéressant il s'agit de la critique qui dans les cercles païens se faisait jour sur le langage de l'Ecriture Sainte (4,28,1080 D–1081 A): *Ἐξευτελίζουσιν γὰρ τὴν θείαν Γραφὴν, ὡς βαρβαρόφωνον, καὶ ὀνοματοποιίαις ξέναις συντεταγμένην, συνδέσμων δὲ ἀναγκαίων ἐλλείπουσαν καὶ παρενθήκῃ τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων ἐκταράττουσαν.*[15]

A l'appui de textes analogues on sait également que les non-chrétiens n'avaient généralement que du mépris pour la forme littéraire de la Bible. C'est l'attitude de Saint Augustin qui est repoussé d'abord par l'apparence peu soignée de ces écrits. Isidore énumère quelques reproches qu'on pouvait entendre chez les païens érudits. En premier lieu le langage dont les évangélistes font usage serait *βαρβαρόφωνος*. Cette expression portera sur les termes et sur les constructions qui selon les normes attiques pourraient être considérés comme étant incorrects (les solécismes dont les hébréismes font aussi partie). Les constructions hébraïsantes, contraires souvent au caractère du grec, choquaient les gens cultivés au même degré que les expressions vulgaires qui ne trouvaient pas grâce aux yeux des lettrés élevés dans l'école de l'Atticisme.[16]

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[15] Comp. A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttingen 1959[10], p. 290,§ 458: « Die Heidnen tadelten die Sprache der Christen als *συνδέσμων ἐλλείπουσαν*, Isid. Pelus. c. IV, 28 (P.G. 78, 1080). Vgl. Edw. Mayser, *Grammatik der griech. Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* II 3, 114[2] (1934). Vgl. P. Fiebig, *Der Erzählungsstil der Evangelien im Lichte des rabbinischen Erzählungsstil untersucht*, Leipzig 1925 (=Untersuchungen zum N.T. 11). id., Der Erzählungsstil der Evangelien, *Ἄγγελος* 2, 1926, 39–43 ». Voir aussi Basile, *Hom. in Ps.* 44, P.G. 29, 396 C.

[16] Comp. Jean Chrysost. qui défend les termes s'écartant de l'usage commun, P.G. 50, 646: *Μή γάρ μοι τὴν βάρβαρον αὐτῶν φωνὴν ἴδῃς, ἀλλὰ τὴν φιλοσοφοῦσαν αὐτῶν διάνοιαν. Τί γάρ μοι ὄφελος τῆς ὁμοφωνίας, ὅταν τὰ τῆς γνώμης ᾖ διῃρημένα; τί δέ μοι βλάβος τῆς ἑτεροφωνίας, ὅταν τὰ τῆς πίστεως ᾖ συνημμένα;* Jérôme admet (*In Eph.* 2, 587–588, P.L. 26, 478 A–C) que S. Paul dans ses écrits avait fait des solécismes et des fautes dans la construction de la phrase. Mais Jérôme le défend et dit que S. Paul n'aurait pas réussi

Un second reproche regarde les *ὀνοματοποιίαι ξέναι*, les néologismes de caractère étrange. D'un côté le grec possède une souplesse à laquelle le latin s'est efforcé en vain d'atteindre et pour laquelle est caractéristique p.e. l'aisance avec laquelle en grec les composés sont formés. Mais d'autre part les normes sévères de l'Atticisme qui ont prévalu depuis le deuxième siècle après J.–Chr. ont eu des conséquences d'une importance capitale pour l'évolution du grec littéraire. La *koinè* qui ne répondit pas à ces exigences et qui s'évoluait rapidement n'était pas acceptée par les puristes comme langue de littérature. Les lexiques atticistes servaient justement à stigmatiser l'emploi de termes non-attiques. Et le fait que beaucoup d'autres chrétiens étaient plus ou moins des adhérents de l'Atticisme semble être une des raisons pour lesquelles dans le monde grec le christianisme n'a pas donné naissance à un nombre de néologismes aussi grand qu'en latin.

De plus on reproche à la Bible un style asyndétique, [17] ce qus a rapport aux phrases qui ne sont pas liées par des conjonctioni (en premier lieu la parataxe asyndétique). Cette omission de conjonctions était contraire aux constructions artificielles de périodes bien équilibrées que préférait le grec littéraire. Cependant l'usage de cette construction — bien que plus abondant qu'autrefois — est resté assez restreint dans le langage biblique [18] et l'on pourrait s'étonner que ce n'était pas plutôt la construction paratactique au moyen de *καὶ* (dont Marc surtout offre nombre d'exemples) qui fut l'objet des attaques de la critique littéraire.

En dernier lieu Isidore fait mention du reproche que par *παρενθήκη* le sens de ce qui est dit est troublé. Sous la *παρενθήκη* nous entendons le phénomène qu'une pensée qui est grammaticalement indépendante est intercalée au milieu d'une phrase, un phénomène donc qui est apparenté à l'anacoluthe. Ici encore on peut s'étonner de ce reproche qui semble bien recherché vu que le nombre de ces intercalations dans le langage biblique (du moins du Nouveau Testament) reste assez limité.

à attirer à J.–Chr. le monde entier s'il avait prêché l'évangile « in sapientia verbi ». Dans sa prédication c'était la « virtus Dei » qui prévalait.

[17] Sur l'asyndéton voir Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* II, p. 632–633, et Kühner–Gerth II[4], p. 339 ss.

[18] Voir Debrunner, *o.l.*, p. 290, § 458.

III. Les étymologies et les explications du sens

En premier lieu il saute aux yeux que les étymologies de termes de l'usage courant sont au moins aussi nombreux que celles qui appartiennent à l'ambiance chrétienne. Ceci est d'autant plus remarquable que pour les termes expliqués il s'agit presqu'exclusivement de mots et de conceptions bibliques. L'explication du sens des mots fait partie de l'exégèse qui dans la littérature chrétienne occupe une grande place. On peut se demander pourquoi les étymologies employées souvent par les auteurs chrétiens pour appuyer leur argumentation, proviennent en grande partie d'un ordre d'idées de caractère neutre. Il faut considérer pourtant le fait que ce sont parfois des textes bibliques qui donnent lieu à une étymologie de caractère général. D'autre part Isidore semble aimer de faire étalage de ses connaissances. Je crois qu'il s'agit plutôt d'une pose quand il parle avec un certain dédain d'un terme profane.[19]

Nous nous occuperons d'abord des étymologies de la première catégorie, celle des termes qui appartiennent à l'usage courant. Elles seront présentées dans l'ordre des lettres d'Isidore dans l'édition de Migne.

Selon Isidore (1,477,1604 D) les feuilles *(φύλλα)* sont probablement appelées ainsi parce qu'elles protègent l'arbre.

Bien évidente est la dérivation du terme Aréopage (2,91,536 B–C) qui à bon droit (comp. aussi la forme *Ἄρειος πάγος*) est mis en relation avec le dieu Arès et avec *πάγος*, lieu élevé. Ce type de dérivation (c'est à dire des mots composés) est, comme l'a déjà observé Varron dans son *De lingua latina*, la catégorie la plus simple. Il en est autrement de l'étymologie de *γῆρας* dont Isidore donne l'analyse *γῆς ἐρᾶν* (3,54,768 A–B) tandis qu'il fait remarquer concernant *γυνή* qu'il est en rapport avec *γονίμη* et *γονεῖς* et qu'il ne faut pas dériver ce terme de *γυῖα* (3,243,922 B–C). Et dans le même passage *ἀνήρ* est lié à *ἀνορύττειν*: *καὶ ἀνορύττοντι τὴν γυναικείαν χώραν· παρ' ὃ καὶ ἀνήρ, ὡς οἶμαι, λέγεται.* Bien que l'introduction de l'étymologie de *γυνή* soit provoquée par un texte biblique, le passage entier repose sans doute sur des sources

[19] Isidore dit à propos de *διοπετής* qui figure dans les Actes des Apôtres 19, 35: « ce n'est pas un mot de l'Ecriture Sainte, mais du sécrétaire de la ville » et « je juge superflu d'expliquer des formes de mots trompeuses ».

antérieures, comme il ressort de la polémique contre la dérivation de *γυνή* du terme *γυῖα*.

Selon Isidore *μήν* est à combiner avec *μήνη* (= *σελήνη*) puisque la lune parcourt son orbite tous les mois (4,58,1112 B). D'une apparence plus compliquée est la dérivation de *θέλγειν* : *θέλοντα ἄγειν* (4,144,1281 D). Dans l'antiquité on ne recule pas devant des étymologies très audacieuses. On essaie même d'analyser des racines non-composées, ce qui parfois donne lieu à des résultats bizarres (Varron aussi admet que la catégorie des *prima vocabula* donne lieu à des difficultés singulières).

Isidore dérive *ναός* du verbe *ναίειν* (4,151,1236). Et selon lui la statue des dieux *(βρέτας)* doit son nom au fait qu'elle ressemble à un mortel (*παρὰ τῷ βροτῷ ἐοικέναι* 4,207,1301 A).[20] A la catégorie la plus simple appartient ensuite l'analyse du composé *νουθετεῖν* qu'Isidore dérive de *νοῦ θέσις* (5,286,1504 A). Dans le même passage figure une double étymologie de *θέλγειν* : *παρὰ τὸ εἰς ὃ θέλει ἄγειν, ἢ παρὰ τὸ θέλοντα ἄγειν*. Les parties composantes de ce terme sont les mêmes dans les deux étymologies. Dans l'antiquité on trouvera pourtant aussi des étymologies qui sont présentées commes équivalentes mais qui sont basées sur des racines divergentes.

Bien qu'Isidore juge correctement des composants de *ἀπόνοια*, la combinaison qu'il construit n'est pas juste : *πόρρω τοῦ νοῦ γινομένη* (5,347,1537 B). Dans le même passage il donne de *νουθεσία* la même analyse que celle citée ci-dessus pour *νουθετεῖν* : *παρὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ θέσιν*.

Une étymologie qu'on rencontre souvent (p.e. dans les scholies sur Homère) est présentée pour *βοήθεια* : *παρὰ τὸ μετὰ βοῆς θέειν* (5,505,1617 B). A côté des étymologies de mots de l'usage commun figurent un certain nombre d'étymologies de termes avec un sens chrétien. Dans *ἐπίσκοπος* la relation avec le verbe *ἐπισκοπεῖν* (dans son sens originel) n'offre pas de problème : *ἐπισκοπεῖν αὐτὸν χρή* (1,149,281 D–284 D, comp. 4.219,1313 B–C). Pour expliquer un terme chrétien Isidore ne peut pas toujours recourir à une étymologie païenne. En premier lieu il y a des néologismes pour lesquels il n'existe pas de sources profanes, et de plus si les composants sont

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[20] La science étymologique moderne se restreint pour *βρέτας* à la constatation : mot méditerranéen sans étymologie, comp. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, Heidelberg 1960, p. 266.

reconnus comme étant les mêmes que dans un terme profane, la manière dont on arrive au sens chrétien diffère souvent.

C'est ainsi que de *οἰκονόμος* (administrateur des biens ecclésiastiques) Isidore produit l'analyse: *παρὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα αὐτῶν νέμειν τοῖς πένησιν* (1,269,341 D). Et il ajoute que *οἰκεῖα* se rapportera aux biens ecclésiastiques. Le changement de sens chez les chrétiens est élucidé par des éléments nouveaux dans l'analyse du terme.[21] L'étymologie mentionnée ci-dessus de *οἰκονόμος* se trouve encore dans le passage 5,301,1512 D et bien en alternative avec une étymologie un peu différente: *παρὰ τὸ ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τὸ πρὸς ἀξίαν νέμειν.*

Le terme *ἐπιούσιος* dont le sens était déjà débattu dans l'antiquité chrétienne et qui est devenu un des mots chrétiens le plus contestés [22] est étymologisé aussi par Isidore (2,281,712 C). Il y voit, comme le faisait déjà Origène, un terme composé de *ἐπί* et de *οὐσία*, et il ajoute que *οὐσία* se rapporte à l'âme plutôt qu'au corps (comp. aussi 4,24,1073 C).[23]

Bien que *δευτερόπρωτος* soit facile à analyser, l'interprétation a déjà soulevé beaucoup de difficultés chez les pères de l'Eglise.[24] Isidore dit que la formation du mot veut dire que le jour en

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[21] Ce qui pourtant n'est pas nécessaire puisque le sens nouveau se développe généralement en partant d'un terme déjà existant. L'étymologie ne joue pas de rôle dans ce procès.

[22] Sur les interprétations chez les auteurs grecs chrétiens (où cependant il n'est pas question d'Isidore de Péluse) voir C. Vona, *Convivium Dominicum*, Catania 1959, p. 243–255. Isidore voit dans *ἐπιούσιος* ainsi qu'Origène le substantif *οὐσία* (Origène connaissait aussi la dérivation d' *ἐπιέναι*). C'est déjà Origène qui a introduit une interprétation spiritualisée. Chez Jean Chrysostome aussi on trouve une pensée semblable, comp. *Hom.* 43, 2 *in Joh.* (P.G. 59, 247–248): *κἂν ἀναπτύξωμεν τὴν εὐχὴν ἐκείνην, οὐδὲν εὑρήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ σαρκινὸν, ἀλλὰ πάντα πνευματικά.*

[23] Isidore ne veut pas exclure la possibilité de concevoir *οὐσία* comme « corps » et de cette manière il en vient au sens « quotidien ». Pour = corps comp. Jean Chrysost., P.G. 51, 46, *De angusta porta et in orationem dominicam*: *Ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ σώματος διαβαίνοντα, καὶ συγκροτῆσαι ταύτην δυνάμενον.*

[24] Comp. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum N.T.*[4]: « Es ist wohl entspr. *δευτερέσχατος* (= vorletzt) zu verstehen als *zweiterst* (vgl. Epiphan., Haer. 30, 51, 31 *δευτερόπρωτον = δεύτερον σάββατον μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον*)». Dans le texte de l'évangile plusieurs manuscrits omettant le terme, la probabilité est grande que *δευτερόπρωτος* est une addition qui est due à une erreur de copiste.

question succède à la Pâque, mais précède la fête des Azymes *(δεύτερον μὲν ἦν τοῦ Πάσχα, πρῶτον δὲ τῶν Ἀζύμων)*.

A bon droit Isidore voit dans *εὐλογία* la relation avec *εὖ λέγειν* (4,161,1245 D).

Passons maintenant aux interprétations du sens de certains termes. Contrairement aux étymologies, celles-ci pour la plus grande partie se rapportent à des termes bibliques ou à des mots qui figurent dans l'Ecriture Sainte. Isidore précise le sens de certains termes, il traite de quelques leçons des manuscrits et il explique même quelques termes bibliques provenant de l'hébreu.

A propos de Matthée 1,25 Isidore traite de *ἕως* (qui l'intéresse du point de vue théologique) et il y voit un équivalent de *διηνεκῶς* (1,18,192 B). Pour trouver un appui à son argumentation il renvoie à un autre texte biblique (Ps. 109,1), un procédé qui surtout depuis Origène était admis généralement et par lequel la linguistique était devenue la servante de l'interprétation théologique. Cette méthode qui va de pair avec les méthodes des savants profanes, suppose une connaissance de la Bible assez détaillée. Isidore lui-même se montre assez versé dans la Bible et il recommande instamment l'étude de la Bible comme étant de la plus grande utilité.[25]

Sur les *ἀκρίδες* (terme qui ordinairement est traduit par « sauterelles ») dont Jean Baptiste se nourissait (Mt. 3,4: Mc 1,6) Isidore (1,132,269 C) fait remarquer que l'opinion selon laquelle il s'agit d'animaux n'est pas juste: *Μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ἀκρεμόνες βοτανῶν ἢ φυτῶν*. De même dans 1,5,184 A les *ἀκρεμόνες* (les rejetons, les brins d'herbe) sont mentionnées comme la nourriture de Jean Baptiste, ce qui doit être un exemple pour les ascètes.

Il est évident que dans *ἀκρίς* aussi bien que dans *ἀκρεμών* on entend *ἀκρός*. L'interprétation d'Isidore se trouve généralement chez les auteurs grecs,[26] tandis que chez les auteurs latins on ne trouve que celle de « sauterelles ». Avant l'époque d'Isidore on ne trouve pourtant pas l'interprétation de « rejeton, pousse de

[25] Comp. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* 4, Fribourg 1924², p. 105.

[26] Comp. E. Lohmeyer, *Das Urchristentum I. Johannes der Täufer*, Göttingen 1932, p. 50⁴; *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* I, Oxford 1961, s.v.; Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum N.T.*⁴ s.v.

buissons » si ce n'est dans les *Fragmenta in Mt.* 3,4 (P.G. 27,1365 D), qui sont transmis parmi les œuvres d'Athanase mais qui sont d'une authenticité dubieuse. Le *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. cite encore deux œuvres qui à tort ont été attribuées à Jean Chrysostome et la *Narratio de Joanne Baptista* p. 2 (Vassiliev) où nous lisons: *ἤσθιεν δὲ ἀκρίδας τουτέστιν φοίνικας.* Quelques autres passages se rencontrent chez Lohmeyer, *Johannes der Taüfer*, p. 50.

Sous cette interprétation dans la littérature ascétique se cache la tendance de représenter Jean Baptiste, qui est considéré comme un exemple pour les ascètes, comme étant végétarien. On perçoit la même intention dans l'Evangile des Ebionites, où *ἀκρίς* a été changé en *ἐγκρίς* (un gâteau préparé avec de l'huile et du miel), comp. Epiph., *Haer.* 30,13 (K. Holl, G.C.S. 1,350,7 = P.G. 41,428 D).

Dans le passage 1,1,177 A–180 A Isidore s'occupe des termes monastiques *ἀποταγή* et *ὑποταγή*. Il dit que ces mots ont été formés par les chefs du monachisme *(οἱ μὲν ἅγιοι τῆς μοναχικῆς φιλοσοφίας κορυφαῖοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες)* qui selon lui ont donné ces désignations d'une façon exacte. En effet depuis les débuts du monachisme nous trouvons *ἀποταγή* en relation avec la vie monastique (un des passages les plus anciens est Basile, *Reg. fus. tract.* 8,3, où l'on trouve une définition d'*ἀποταγή*).

Le texte d'Isidore est intéressant parce qu'il suggère que ce sont les chefs du monachisme (Pachôme, Basile) qui auraient forgé ces termes. Mais bien qu'il soit sûr que ces termes ont pris naissance dans les cercles monastiques, nous ne croyons pas que de termes pareils (*ἀποταγή* s'est développé du verbe déjà en usage auparavant) remontent à une seule personne mais qu'ils paraissent graduellement sans qu'on puisse en désigner le créateur.

Parmi les termes expliqués il y en a quelques-uns qui proviennent de l'hébreu. Dans ces quelques passages Isidore, qui ne connaît sans doute pas l'hébreu, se réfère à des explications traditionnelles. Une connaissance directe de l'hébreu ne peut être guère supposée chez les auteurs grecs chrétiens du cinquième siècle. *Ἰσραήλ* est interprété par Isidore (1,192,305 B): *ὁ νοῦς ὁ βλέπων Θεὸν καθαρότητι.*[27] On voit qu'Isidore l'interprète dans un sens allégorique.

[27] Contrairement à *Gen.* 32, 29: « car vous avez lutté avec Dieu et les hommes et vous avez remporté la victoire ». Comp. *Theologisches Wörterbuch* 4, p. 357[1]; *Bijbels Woordenboek*[2], Roermond 1954–57, sur les étymologies modernes. Dans un autre passage (3, 4, 720 C) Isidore explique *Μακκαβαῖος*

Ceci fait penser à la tradition de Philon et de l'école d'Alexandrie (en premier lieu d'Origène). Et en fait pour Philon déjà, Israël a un sens figuré: *ἄνθρωπος ὁρῶν θεόν*.[28]

Dans le passage 1,205,313 B Isidore attribue un sens figuré à *ἄγγη* (dans le texte Mt. 13,48): la demeure éternelle *τοὺς αἰωνίους μονὰς*. Le fait que *κοινωνία* est devenu un terme généralement admis pour l'eucharistie peut être expliqué selon Isidore par le fait que ce terme veut exprimer que l'eucharistie nous unit au Christ et qu'elle nous fait participer à son royaume. Ceci n'est autre cependant qu'une explication édifiante après coup. Isidore n'a pas bien vu l'évolution véritable de *κοινωνία* qui sans doute doit être mis en relation avec *κοινωνεῖν* (sc. *τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ*). Graduellement l'usage elliptique de *κοινωνεῖν* au sens de « communier » s'est imposé.[29] Pour l'explication du nom de Jésus (= *σωτήρ*) Isidore (1,453,432 B) put se baser sur Mt. 1,21 *(αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν)*. Isidore se réalise que *σάρξ* à côté du sens général a aussi dans la Bible un sens défavorable ce qu'il éclaircit au moyen d'exemples (1,477,441 C–D): *ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν, ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ φθοράν*.[30] La coutume des commentateurs profanes de se servir de passages parallèles depuis Origène a été acceptée aussi par les exégètes chrétiens.

Pour défendre la leçon *Ἠθάμ* dans Ps. 73,15 *(Σὺ ἐξήρανας ποταμοὺς Ἠθάμ)* Isidore cite le témoignage de l'historien Flave-Josèphe qui dans sa *Guerre juive* 2,66 mentionne ce lieu, situé à deux milles de Jérusalem.[31] A propos de ce terme, Isidore fait observer encore: « Cette leçon se trouve dans les vieux psautiers,

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comme étant un mot d'origine perse (= *κοίρανος, δεσπότης*). La science étymologique moderne part généralement d'un arrière-plan hébreu, bienque le sens ne soit pas encore tout à fait certain; voir F. Perles, The Name Makkabaios, *J.Q.R.* 17, 1926/27, 404 s.; A. A. Bevan, The Origin of the Name Maccabee, *J. Th. S.* 30, 1929, p. 190–193.

[28] Voir *Theologisches Wörterbuch* 4, p. 373.

[29] Comp. G. Bartelink, Ellipse und Bedeutungsverdichtung in der christlichen griechischen Literatur, *Vigiliae Christianae* 10, 1956, p. 5–6.

[30] Dans le passage du psaume 29, 30 *καταβῆναί με εἰς διαφθοράν* le terme *διαφθορά* est expliqué par Isidore: « la nature de l'homme corrompue tout à fait ». Le sens de *διαφθορά* (littéralement « corruption ») est plutôt ici « le règne des morts »; comp. *Job* 33, 28 et *Actes des Ap.* 13, 34.

[31] Isidore cite plusieurs fois les œuvres de Flave-Josèphe et à ce qu'il semble il les a bien connues, comp. Bayer, *o.l.*, p. 78 ss.

mais dans quelques psautiers de date plus récente elle n'est pas accueillie. Et à cause de ce fait il y en a qui pensent qu'il se trouve dans l'Ecriture Sainte des leçons superflues et inacceptables » (2,66,509 A–C).

Intéressante du point de vue de l'histoire culturelle est l'observation qu'Isidore ajoute à l'explication de *φυλακτήρια* qui figure dans Mt. 23,5: *ἴσθι ὅτι δέλτια ἦν μικρὰ, - - ὥσπερ νῦν* [*αἱ γυναῖκες τὰ*] *Εὐαγγέλια* [*τὰ*] *μικρά* (sc. *φοροῦσιν*) (2,150,604 C). Sans doute nous avons affaire ici à une coutume populaire chrétienne: les femmes chrétiennes qui portaient les petites tables avec des textes des évangiles le faisaient (d'une façon analogue aux juifs) parce qu'elles considéraient ces textes comme des amulettes ainsi que le judaïsme tardif le faisait des phylactères *(tephillin)*. Il faut y voir une manifestation de la croyance populaire.[32]

Depuis le Nouveau Testament *ἐκκλησία* signifie l'Eglise comme communauté de tous les chrétiens [33] et aussi l'église locale. De plus *ἐκκλησία* a acquis le sens d'édifice servant aux réunions des chrétiens. Ces sens sont quelquefois employés l'un contrastant avec l'autre. Dans le passage 2,246,685 A Isidore parle de quelqu'un qui scandalise l'Eglise, mais qui veut embellir sa propre église (qui est désignée ici dédaigneusement par *ἐκκλησιαστήριον*). Isidore oppose l'Eglise qui comprend le monde entier *(τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἁγίων)* et qui se compose des âmes sans reproche *(ἄμωμοι ψυχαί)* avec l'église qui est bâtie de bois et de pierre. Il blâme le fait que son destinataire démolit l'Eglise mais en même temps veut embellir sa propre petite église. Ce sont les deux sens du term *ecclesia* qui se sont opposés à dessein l'un à l'autre.

Une autre remarque concerne une question d'orthographie dans les manuscrits bibliques. A propos de Dan. 8,10 Isidore pense à la possibilité d'interpréter *ἔπεσεν* comme *ἐπάταξεν* (3,4,720 C), où

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[32] Comp. F. Eckstein–J. H. Waszink, *Amulett* dans *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 1, 397–411. On peut trouver ici des passages parallèles, comp. aussi C. Bonner, *Studies in magical amulets*, 1950; C. Schneider, *Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums* I, München 1954, p. 536.

[33] Comp. Chrysostome, *In dictum Pauli, oportet haereses esse*, P.G. 51, 258: *Ἐκκλησία γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται, ὅτι κοινῇ πάντας ὑποδέχεται.* La métaphore sur la construction et la démolition de l'Eglise peut avoir d'autres formes aussi: comp. Jean Chrysost., *Contra Judaeos et gentiles, Quod Christus sit Deus* (P.G. 48, 830).

ἔπεσεν est considéré comme une variante orthographique de ἔπαισεν (un type de variante qui se rencontre souvent, étant donné que la diphthongue αι en grec tardif était prononcée comme ε). Autre part Isidore relève avec instance qu'une différence d'accent peut entraîner une différence de sens (3,10,733 B–C). Tandis que λόγιον veut dire « parole divine, sentence divine », λογίον signifie par contre τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπιτεθῆναι θεσπισθὲν, οἷον λόγου ἱερὸν, ἢ οἶκον, ἢ τέμενος.

La linguistique pour Isidore est la servante de la théologie, comme nous avons déjà remarqué ci-dessus. Il y a même des explications tendancieuses pour lesquelles on fait appel à des arguments linguistiques. Un exemple très clair chez Isidore est le terme πρωτότοκος (dans Col. 1,15). C'est à tort qu'Isidore (3,31,749 C–D) dans une argumentation contre les Ariens défend l'exactitude de l'accent sur la pénultième. Il est bien caractéristique pour sa méthode qu'il appuie sa démonstration à l'aide d'un texte d'Homère, chez qui figure la forme πρωτοτόκος au sens actif (« enfantant pour la première fois »).[34] C'est ce sens qui dans Col. 1,15 est défendu par Isidore contre les Ariens (πρωτοκτίστης, οὐ πρωτόκτιστος).[35]

On voit que presque tous les termes interprétés par Isidore sont des termes bibliques. Parmi ces observations il y en a de très subtiles. Dans le passage 3,92,796 D Isidore parle du sens d'ἔρευνα dans l'Ecriture Sainte et il insiste sur le fait que ce terme a un sens différent selon qu'il est dit de Dieu ou des hommes.[36]

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[34] Comp. Bayer, *o.l.*, p. 6: «Z.B. erklärt er πρωτοτόκος und πρωτότοκος (III 31) in Anlehnung an Homer ». Bardenhewer (*Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* 4, Fribourg 1924², p. 105) mentionne aussi cette interprétation: « An die Stelle Kol. 1, 15 (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως) solle man nicht das passive πρωτότοκος "zuerst geboren" lesen, sondern das aktive πρωτοτόκος "zuerst gebärend", d.i. "erschaffend" (3, 31), ein Vorschlag, welcher jedenfalls von der Absicht eingegeben ist, den Arianern eine Waffe zu entwinden ».

[35] Le passage Col. 1, 15 a soulevé bien des difficultés pour les exégètes modernes aussi. On est d'accord pourtant sur le fait que la leçon πρωτοτόκος est fausse. Voir W. Michaëlis, *Theologisches Wörterbuch* 6, p. 879–880 spécialement p. 880[48]; J. Gewiess, *Christus und das Heil nach dem Kolossensenbrief*, Katholisch.-theol. Diss. Breslau 1932, p. 31–48 où se trouve un aperçu des interprétations patristiques.

[36] Il est à noter que le verbe ἐρευνᾶν est précisément bien des fois employé par rapport à Dieu, p.e. S. Jean, *Apoc.* 2, 23.

Chez Dieu l'*ἔρευνα* désigne l'exactitude de son opinion, par rapport aux hommes, selon Isidore le mot veut dire que l'homme réfléchit sur un problème et s'en rend compte au prix de beaucoup d'efforts.

Dans le passage 3,149,841 Isidore explique la différence entre *ἀθάνατος* (ce qui est né et ne meurt pas), *ἄφθαρτος* (impérissable, dit par rapport à des choses) et *ἀΐδιος* (éternel; dans son sens special *ἀΐδιος* est réservé spécialement à Dieu). Selon lui *κόσμος* figure dans le sens de *πλῆθος* (la foule, la masse) et pour le démontrer il cite le prologue de l'Evangile de St. Jean: *Ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω* (4,10,1057 B). En partant d'un texte scripturaire Isidore illustre la différence entre *κελεῦσαι* et *ἐπιτρέψαι* (4,68,1125 B) dont le premier terme selon lui veut dire qu'on charge quelqu'un de quelque chose qui doit être accompli dans chaque circonstance, et le second que quelque chose est permis ou admis.[37]

Ce n'est qu'une seule fois qu'Isidore parle expressément de l'usage de la Bible. Ordinairement il ne fait qu'indiquer que tel mot ou telle expression figure dans l'Ecriture Sainte. Qu'il est pourtant bien conscient du caractère propre de l'usage de la Bible, est évident grâce à une remarque à propos de *ἔδωκε* et de *παρέδωκε* (4,201,1165 C): *κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἱερᾶς Γραφῆς νόμους καὶ ἰδιώματα, ἀφῆκεν εἰσι καὶ συνεχώρησεν.*

Résumons les données les plus importantes. D'un côté Isidore fait preuve d'une connaissance assez vaste des auteurs principaux

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[37] Relevons encore d'autres interprétations de mots chez Isidore: *κατάνυξις* de *Rom.* 11, 8 (4, 101, 1168 A); la différence entre *λαμβάνειν* et *ἀπολαμβάνειν* (4, 116, 1189 C), à propos de Luc 16, 25; *γέννησις* (4, 142, 1224 A); *εἰσέρχεσθαι* à propos de *Num.* 6, 6 (4, 157, 1241 A–B); *λίθινος* (*Ez.* 11, 19) est interprété *ἀναίσθητος καὶ ἀνάλγητος* (4, 160, 1245 B); *εὐλογεῖν* (*Ps.* 48, 19) est rendu par *ἐπαινεῖν* (4, 161, 1245 B); *συγγιγνώσκειν* est expliqué par *συννοεῖν*; *λαλητός* dans *Job* 38, 14 selon Isidore est interprété par quelques-uns comme *περιβόητος* (5, 162, 1420 A) mais selon lui-même: *εὖ μηνύει μᾶλλον τὸ λογικόν, τὸ διὰ τοῦ λαλεῖν γνωριζόμενον.* A propos de 1 *Tim.* 4, 3 plusieurs questions linguistiques sont soulevées. La différence d'une lettre ou d'un point peut amener des erreurs, selon Isidore. Il donne comme exemple dans ce texte la difficulté de savoir si la leçon *ἀπέχεσθαι,* d'*ἀντέχεσθαι* ou d'*ἔχεσθαι* est à préférer. Il renvoie à d'autres textes où des variantes fautives se sont glissées (p.e. *ἔστη* à côté de *ἔσται, ἐπεί* à côté de *εἰ,* et *κατοικίζει* à côté de *κατοικεῖ*).

de l'antiquité, où il montre une préférence pour Démosthène et pour Plutarque. Lui–même écrit dans un style soigné atticisant.

Mais en vue de la masse, Isidore pose d'autres normes pour la prédication du christianisme. Il a conscience que l'art de la parole n'est que le domaine de peu de gens et que désormais en matière de religion la culture d'élite est passée.

Isidore fait preuve d'une grande appréciation pour la langue de la Bible en argumentant que sa concision et sa simplicité lui semblent un avantage à savoir le contact avec les grandes masses. Selon lui, ceux qui prêchent des préceptes divins ne sont pas asujettis à des lois rhétoriques.

Ses connaissances générales sont employées par Isidore presqu'exclusivement pour interpréter des passages scripturaires. Bienqu'il ne cultive que le genre épistolaire qui n'offre pas beaucoup d'occasions pour l'exégèse et l'interprétation détaillée de termes bibliques, on trouve chez lui pourtant des remarques linguistiques bien intéressantes.

Il saute aux yeux que les étymologies qu'Isidore donne n'apartiennent pas en grande partie à une ambiance spécifiquement chrétienne, tandis qu'au contraire pour les termes expliqués il s'agit presqu'exclusivement de termes et de concepts bibliques.

Que ce soient seulement des termes bibliques dont le sens est expliqué, est un phénomène assez commun chez les auteurs chrétiens provenant du fait que le contenu de la littérature chrétienne est surtout éthique et biblique. Ce sont spécialement les termes difficiles ou contestés qui exigent une explication. Comment la linguistique pourtant peut devenir une servante tendancieuse de la théologie résulte des observations qu'Isidore fait à propos de *πρωτότοκος*.

On pourrait se demander pourquoi les étymologies de termes de l'usage commun sont au moins aussi nombreuses que celles qui appartiennent à l'ambiance chrétienne. On sait d'ailleurs que les étymologies sont souvent employées par les auteurs chrétiens comme un appui de l'argumentation. Quand on y regarde de plus près, on se rend compte que ce sont notamment les textes bibliques qui donnent lieu à des étymologies. Mais d'autre part Isidore semble bien aimer de faire étalage de ses connaissances.

Oldenzaal, Reigerstraat 36

Vigiliae Christianae 18 (1964) 181—190; *North-Holland Publishing Co.*

REVIEWS

J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A.D.* 70 (London Oriental Series, Vol. 12). London, Oxford University Press, 1963. Pp. XVI, 294. Pr. 42/–.

In this study the author tries to show in which way the sources for the Passover from the earliest documents of the Bible to Josephus reflect a process of change and development in the ritual of this festival. He divides these sources into historical documents, viz., those describing the actual occurences of the festival (e.g. the Passover in Joshua V), and traditional ones, viz., those recounting the celebration of the Passover at the Exodus.

The historical documents can rather easily be arranged into the right order of composition and redaction, because we know the time and circumstances in which they originated. As to the traditional documents, their historical order is at first sight uncertain. Segal puts them into the following order: possible references to the Passover before the Exodus; the Exodus Passover; the post-Exodus Passover. But what about the origin and the development of the festival as such? Segal suggests that the compiler of the Pentateuch was aware of the general process of evolution and that, in their present order, the Passover documents in the Pentateuch reflect the picture of this evolution as it was seen by him.

After discussing the various modern theories on the origin of the festival Segal puts forward the idea that it was essentially a New Year festival of seven days, preceded by a period of seven days of preparation. According to the dichotomy of the year there are, in his opinion, in fact two "New Years": the autumn festival was a festival of formal authority, hence of the Temple and the priests, whereas the spring festival, Passover, was celebrated by the people themselves, within the family. All the regulations, the method of cooking, the Pesah victim, the avoidance of leaven, the prohibition against breaking the bones, the disposal of the remains and perhaps also the eating of bitter herbs, relate to the observance of ritual cleanness (p. 173). The exodus from the city in the desert is a feature of the New Year festival throughout the Near East, and it is likely to have been performed by the Israelites before as well as after the Exodus from Egypt (p. 179). In a later stage of development, in Canaan, the festival is fixed in the month of Abib (corn in the green), an expression easily understood by the farmers, cf. Exod. XXIII. 15 and XXXIV. 18. And Leviticus XXIII prescribes that the Sabbath of Passover, which according to Segal means the week of Passover, should precede the harvest. Here

again the compiler of the Pentateuch acknowledges that the more exact regulation of the festival is of later time.

At an even later date King Josiah gave order for the celebration of the Passover. This royal intervention arose from Josiah's desire to extend his dominion over Northern Israel. The same tendency is found in Ezekiel's description of the festival with the prominence of the *Nasi'*, evidently a layman who represented the people. Here, too, the festival follows closely on the dedications of the Temple. But the general character of the festival continues to be a popular one.

As to the Last Supper in the synoptic Gospels, Segal thinks that the Evangelists transformed the Last Supper into a Pesah meal; the very fact that the most important component of the Pesah meal, viz., the meat, is not mentioned by the synoptic Gospel is a clear indication of this. Jesus compared himself with the bread.

A few remarks as a conclusion. Segal suggests several times that Passover was probably preceded by a preliminary period of seven days, but this hypothesis is not sufficiently proved. In my opinion, there were during the history of the festival several periods of preparation before Passover, one of which was a period of seven days. As to the contents of the Passover festival, it is often too easily accepted that at Passover only the Exodus from Egypt is commemorated. From a reading of e.g. Joshua V I am inclined to conclude that the Entry into the Promised Land, and nothing else, is the actual content of this celebration. Here the author of Joshua gives a new content to the traditional Passover celebration; for this reason I would assign this chapter to the traditional rather than to the historical documents.

Indeed, I would go one step further. I think that the whole story from the Exodus till the Entry is the actual content of the Passover festival. In this sense Deuteronomy is a typical Passover document: it is meant as a preparation of Passover and, therefore, dated in the eleventh month, two months before Passover. From this point of view it is understandable that in the Pentateuch another Passover-story is mentioned, namely the Passover in the Wilderness, Numbers IX. This Passover looks back to the Exodus from Egypt and forward to the future Entry into Canaan. It is, however, of a later date; in my opinion, it belongs rather to the traditional than to the historical documents. For the compiler of the Pentateuch the three Passovers described in Exodus XII, Numbers IX, and Joshua V all contain the contents of the Passover-story. So the distinction between historical and traditional documents is less obvious than is suggested by Segal. In connection with this it is to be regretted that in his elaborate study Segal does not speak about the contents of the Passover-story in the Wisdom of Solomon – there is much more to say about this question than he does; in

this book one can find a real Passover-story as it was experienced by some Israelite group around the beginning of our era.

I should like to conclude by emphasizing that the critical remarks presented above are meant to express my interest in this book and do not in the least derogate from the respect I feel for its fruitful author.

Hilversum, Koningsstraat 9 a J. VAN GOUDOEVER

John Wilkinson, *Interpretation and Community*. London, Macmillan & Co., 1963. Pp. xxvi, 243. Pr. 30s.

To a considerable extent the theological discussion with which this book is primarily concerned lies outside the purview of *Vigiliae;* the central section of it, however (pp. 41–177), deals with the history of exegesis, starting with rabbinical interpretations of the Old Testament, proceeding with Greek exegesis of Homer to Philo, and going through the New Testament exegesis of the Old to the Apostolic Fathers, Irenaeus, and Origen, and finally to the Antiochene school and Augustine. The author's bibliographies and index show that he is acquainted with a good deal of the modern literature on the subject, but one can only regret that the only Germans in the index are Freud, S., and Rilke, R. M. (Siegfried on Philo is apparently known via F. W. Farrar). Only as a beginning one should mention Wehrli on Homeric exegesis. Furthermore, the picture of Jewish exegesis is very slight because of its concentration on rabbinic texts and neglect of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other apocalyptic writings. Something has gone wrong in a note on p. 70, where Dio Chrysostom is dated A. D. 230 and Plutarch is apparently cited in support of this opinion; one may also doubt that Barnabas depends on the *Letter of Aristeas* (p. 121).

In my opinion, Wilkinson provides more details on the history of interpretation than are necessary for his theological analysis, but does not go into this history fully enough to write the account which he says he was not writing (p. xv). But his main purpose – working out a theological conception of exegesis – does not really depend on the history.

University of Chicago ROBERT M. GRANT

Die Apostolischen Väter I: Der Hirt des Hermas. Herausgegeben von Molly Whittaker (Griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, 48). Berlin, Akademie–Verlag, 1956. Pp. XXVI, 115. Pr. DM 17.–.

Stanislas Giet, *Hermas et les Pasteurs. Les trois auteurs du Pasteur d'Hermas*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1963. Pp. 333. Pr. Fr. 22.–.

Miss Whittaker, in providing a fine critical edition of the text of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, has placed students throughout the world in her debt. As is well known the complete Greek text of this work has failed to survive in any one MS. This is all the more surprising in view of the vogue for Hermas in the early Christian centuries. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and Athanasius (in his early period) regarded the work as quasi-canonical; the work, as far as *Mand.* IV. 3. 5, is included in Codex Sinaiticus after *Ep. Barnabas*. Confidence in Hermas however waned in Rome during the course of the third century and in Alexandria in the fourth – no doubt the Arian use of *Mand.* i. I had something to do with this. Athanasius, in his later period, places Hermas outside the canon (de Decr. xviii). Professor H. Chadwick, in a perceptive article [1], has noted that the preservation of Hermas in Sinaiticus is itself astonishing and illustrative of the force of conservatism.

Miss Whittaker has produced a text of Hermas which cannot be faulted. She has made full use of all the known authorities for the Greek text including numerous papyrus fragments the most famous of which is the Michigan Codex (M) of Sim. ii. 8 – ix. 5. I published by Dr. Campbell Bonner in 1934. Illustrative of her careful scholarship is the use made of the Latin and Ethiopic versions for the last sections of the work (107 seq. = *Sim.* ix. 30 seq.) where the existing Greek MS. A fails. Miss Whittaker wisely prints separately the Greek quoted by *Antiochus Hom.* 94, 122, 94 at Hermas 108. 3–4, 4–6 and 109. 2–4 (author's notation) and the fragment P. Oxy. III. 404 of Hermas 113. 2–3, 3–5 (author's notation).

This edition fulfils the highest critical standards which we have come to expect from the Berlin Academy. Students and research workers now have an accurate Greek text of Hermas to work on and are thus saved the laborious task of searching learned journals and lists of papyri for textual variants. Miss Whittaker includes in her edition an accurate *Verzeichnis der Bibelstellen* and also an Index based on, although supplementing, E. J. Goodspeed's well known *Index Patristicus*.

Professor Giet's book is of a very different kind. This is a work of wide ranging analysis and speculation. Giet believes, as his title suggests, that the existing Hermas consists of three separate works by three authors who wrote at different times. The first and oldest work comprised *Vis.* i – iv and was probably written by Hermas himself. It is this work that contains the reference to a certain Clement (*Vis.* ii. 4) who it seems best to identify with Clement, Bishop of Rome, who wrote the celebrated letter to the Corinthians

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[1] Journal of Theological Studies Vol. VIII (October 1957) pp. 274–80.

circa 96 A.D. Giet has some penetrating observations to make on the idea of penitence and the Church in these Visions and also subjects their Christology and Eschatology to a critical analysis. Giet would date *Vis.* i – iv early in the second century. The fifth Vision is an introduction to the *Mandates* or Precepts which follow in the existing Greek text of the work.

The second work, according to Giet's theory, comprised *Similitude* ix and this, he thinks, was probably written by the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome *circa* 140–150 A.D.. It is to this that the Muratorian Fragment on the Canon refers when it says that the Shepherd was written "quite lately in our times" (*Pastorem vero nuperrime nostris in urbe Roma Herma conscripsit, sedente cathedram urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo fratre eius*). Giet's analysis of *Sim.* ix is very valuable and he is certainly correct in finding a difference of emphasis in the conception of the Son of God from that elsewhere in the work. The Son of God, in *Sim.* ix, symbolised as a rock and a gate, is older than creation yet is recently made manifest. The Church, which in *Vis.* ii is older than creation, is here secondary to the Son of God.

The third work, according to Giet, was of distinctly Jewish Christian tendency and was written several years after *Sim.* ix, i. e. *circa* 155–160 A. D. This comprised the remainder of the work, viz. the *Mandates* and *Sim.* i – viii & x. The unknown third author Giet calls Pseudo-Hermas who passes himself off as the Hermas of the *Visions*. It is this third work which contains much Jewish and Jewish Christian material and expounds an Adoptionist Christology – e.g. the Son of God is identified with the Spirit (*Sim.* v. 6).

Professor Giet's theory of triple authorship demands serious consideration. It has long been recognised that *Vis.* i – iv form a unity and stand apart from the rest of the work. The Shepherd, the angel of repentance, is nowhere mentioned in these Visions which seem to be the work of a younger writer. Moreover it should be noted that the Michigan Codex (M) of the second half of the third century apparently once began with the fifth Vision and contained the rest of the work to the end. It is just possible that *Vis.* i – iv and *Vis.* v – end had a separate textual history at some stage. I think that Giet is on strong ground in ascribing *Vis.* i – iv to Hermas proper and to a date around the turn of the first century or early second century. I am not so sure about his further theory that *Sim.* ix is by an "orthodox" theologian, probably Pius' brother, and dates from just before the mid second century, while Pseudo-Hermas, the third and slightly later author, substituted an adoptionist Christology for the second author's orthodox theology. Hermas is after all a rambling prophetic work which cannot easily be systematised. It is impossible to find a coherent theology running

through the work anymore than in the Visions of such mystics as St. Teresa or St. Catherine of Siena. The writer(s) of *Vis.* v – end stood close to Judaism. In *Sim.* i – v a Christianised form of the earlier O. T. moral code appears and *Mand.* iii – vi stand very close to the Qumran Manual Discp. iii.13 – iv. 26. There was a body of Jewish material which was known in the early Church and it should cause no surprise that some of this appears in Hermas. Yet equally with a Jewish emphasis and an adoptionist Christology it was possible to hold, on the basis of a strand of theology found in the N. T., that the Son of God was older than creation. What to us is a logical contradiction was not so thought of in an age when much fluidity in doctrine and practice prevailed.

Professor Giet's theory is bound to provoke opposition. If he is correct then existing theories about Hermas must be radically revised. I am inclined to think that Hermas was originally two works and not three, viz. (i) *Vis.* i – iv and (ii) *Vis.* v – end. I would place the composition of (i) late in the first century and (ii) *circa* 135 A.D. It is significant that nowhere in Hermas does developed Gnostic teaching appear – and we should have expected some reference if this had been known. Moreover although the leading ideas of Montanism and Hermas have an affinity Hermas is far less rigorous and knows nothing of the Montanist special teaching such as the "age of the Paraclete". Hermas reflects a fluidity in doctrine appropriate to a time before the Church had to grapple seriously with the great heresies. Probably not too much emphasis should be given to the reference in the Muratorian Canon to Pius' brother for, as Professor Chadwick has reminded us [1], the writer is using eye witness testimony to support a thesis. I believe that the Michigan papyrus (M) may have originally represented the text of (ii) while Codex Sinaiticus and the fifteenth century Codex from Mount Athos (A) represented an edition in which the two separate works (i) & (ii) were combined in a single volume under the name of Hermas. But whatever the correct solution to the literary problem Professor Giet is to be congratulated on the learning and insight revealed on every page of his important work. He will cause scholars to think again, and to think hard, about the composition of Hermas.

I have not found any mistakes. The present reviewer's initials are however given wrongly on pp. 93 & 313. The index of references on pp. 325 – 328 give only the chapters of Hermas and not subdivisions of chapters.

Winchester, All Saints Rectory L. W. BARNARD

[1] Op. cit. p. 277.

De Resurrectione (*Epistula ad Rheginum*), Codex Jung F. XXII^{r}–F. XXV^{v} (p. 43–50). Ediderunt M. Malinine, H.–Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till, R. McL. Wilson, J. Zandee. Zürich, Rascher Verlag, 1963. 72 p.

Le traité *Sur la résurrection* est le troisième des ouvrages que contient le Codex Jung. L'édition qui nous en est donnée est digne de celle que les professeurs Malinine, Puech et Quispel nous avaient donnée de *l'Evangile de Vérité*. Elle comprend, avec la photographie du manuscrit copte, l'édition du texte, des traductions française, anglaise, allemande, une longue introduction et des notes abondantes. Si l'on ajoute que la présentation est somptueuse, on aura dit avec quel soin ce traité nous est offert. Aussi bien le mérite-t-il. La question de la résurrection est l'une des plus agitées dans la littérature chrétienne du second siècle. Très particulièrement les adversaires du gnosticisme valentinien reprochent à celui-ci de la nier. Mais nous n'avions pas jusqu'ici de document qui nous fasse connaître exactement la position valentinienne. C'est cette importante lacune qui est maintenant comblée. Notre texte présente en particulier des contacts très étroits avec les doctrines combattues par Tertullien dans le *De resurrectione mortuorum*, dont nous possédons désormais le contexte.

A vrai dire le caractère hétérodoxe du texte n'est pas évident au premier abord. Sur plusieurs points, il témoigne d'une théologie remarquablement précise. Ainsi en ce qui concerne la christologie. Le Seigneur est à la fois « Fils de Dieu » et « Fils de l'homme », il possède l'humanité et la divinité (p. 44, 1, 25–26). En tant que Dieu, il a vaincu la mort; en tant qu'homme, il a réalisé la restauration (*ἀποκατάστασις*). En ce qui concerne plus particulièrement la résurrection, l'auteur s'appuie sur Saint Paul pour affirmer que nous sommes déjà ressuscités avec le Christ et que nous sommes déjà montés au ciel avec lui. C'est ce qu'il appelle « la résurrection spirituelle » (p. 45, 1, 40). C'est par la foi à la résurrection du Christ que nous y participons (p. 46, 1, 15). La mort, au sens ordinaire du mot, n'a donc plus rien de redoutable. Nous devons vivre comme étant déjà resuscités (p. 49, 1, 9–30). Tout ceci est le développement des idées pauliniennes. Il est remarquable, comme l'observe la préface, que ces idées soient davantage utilisées dans notre ouvrage qu'elles ne le sont dans les traités « orthodoxes ».

Où est alors l'aspect gnosticiste? Certaines allusions le décèlent indubitablement. Ainsi est-il question du « plérôme » (p. 44, 1, 33), de la « semence de vérité » (p. 44, 1, 35). Mais surtout l'idée centrale est que la résurrection spirituelle déjà opérée est la vraie résurrection. Le Sauveur « a abandonné le monde périssable, il est passé dans un éon impérissable » (p. 45, 1, 16–18). De même celui qui croit à la résurrection est déjà dans la vérité. Il n'a plus qu'à

attendre que l'illusion (*φαντασία*) du monde où il vit encore se dissipe. En abandonnant le corps à la mort, il ne perdra rien (p. 47, 1, 21). C'est là où apparaît le point essentiel d'opposition, que relèvera bien Tertullien. Pour l'orthodoxe, le corps doit participer à la résurrection de la chair. Pour notre auteur, le corps appartient au monde illusoire. Il ne saurait être question d'une résurrection de la chair à la fin des temps (p. XXIX). La seule résurrection est le retour de l'esprit dès la mort dans l'Eon impérissable. On notera toutefois qu'une certaine participation de la chair à la résurrection aussitôt après la mort n'est pas exclue (p. 47, 1, 7; p. 48, 1, 3).

L'ensemble de ces données permet de situer notre ouvrage et d'en dégager la portée. Ses contacts avec l'école valentinienne sont certains. On est en présence en effet d'un dualisme, où les éléments du gnosticisme judéo-chrétiens prennent une couleur platonicienne. Ceci caractérise le milieu valentinien. Les auteurs de l'Introduction pensent pouvoir aller plus loin et rattacher l'ouvrage à Valentin lui-même, à cause en particulier de ses analogies avec l'*Evangile de Vérité* qui leur paraît de cet auteur. Mais, comme ce dernier ouvrage, le *De resurrectione* est aussi un document sur certains courants chrétiens de l'époque. On y retrouve une mystique baptismale très proche de celle des *Odes de Salomon* (p. XVII). Nous avons par ailleurs relevé l'influence extraordinaire des épîtres pauliniennes. Le *De resurrectione* constitue donc un témoignage important sur l'existence d'une gnose chrétienne, détournée dans le sens d'un dualisme hétérodoxe.

Paris, 15, rue Monsieur JEAN DANIÉLOU

Méthode d'Olympe, *Le banquet*. Introduction et texte critique par Herbert Musurillo, s.j., traduction et notes par Victor-Henry Debidour (Sources Chrétiennes, 95). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1963. Pp. 340. Pr. Fr. 30.—.

Voici un autre livre de haute qualité dans la collection qui a déjà extrêmement contribué à l'étude des sources chrétiennes. L'ouvrage de Méthode est une imitation du *Banquet* de Platon. Dans le jardin de Vertu dix vierges s'entretiennent de la chasteté sous la direction de la Vertu elle-même. Chaque vierge fait un discours, dans lequel la chasteté est considérée d'un point de vue spécial. « Pourtant », comme le dit l'auteur dans son introduction, « ce n'est pas purement un *logos protreptikos*, une exhortation à la chasteté; il y a beaucoup plus. C'est un manuel de doctrine chrétienne, une instruction dans la tradition catéchétique » (p. 13).

On constate chez Méthode une grande influence de Platon, à la fois dans son style et dans sa pensée.

On connaissait déjà le R. P. Musurillo par sa traduction anglaise de ce texte avec commentaire dans la collection *Ancient Christian Writers* (1958). Dans le présent ouvrage l'auteur présente le texte critique grec, qui était à la base de son étude, avec une introduction en grande partie nouvelle. L'un et l'autre témoignent d'un grand effort et d'une connaissance profonde du sujet.

Sur un point dans son introduction l'auteur ne me semble pas heureux. En ce qui concerne le problème de la relation entre Adam et le Fils de Dieu dans l'ouvrage de Méthode il y a des auteurs qui parlent d'une union hypostatique entre Adam et le Verbe. Le R. P. Musurillo regarde cette interprétation comme incorrecte et dit: « Adam était un type, une image du Fils Unique » (p. 17). Mais alors il est en flagrant conflit avec le texte de Méthode qui dit jusqu'à deux fois qu'Adam n'est pas seulement figure et image du Christ (§ 59, p. 96: *ὀρθοδόξως ἀνήγαγε (sc. ὁ Παῦλος) τὸν Ἀδὰμ εἰς τὸν Χριστόν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν τύπον ἡγούμενος εἶναι καὶ εἰκόνα . . .*; § 69, p. 106: *Προγεγύμνασται γὰρ . . . ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς ὡς ἄρα ὁ πρωτόπλαστος* (=Adam) *οἰκείως εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι δύναται τὸν Χριστόν, οὐκέτι τύπος ὢν καὶ ἀπεικασία μόνον καὶ εἰκὼν τοῦ μονογενοῦς . . .*). Cependant, ceci ne veut pas dire que les autres auteurs ont raison.

Parce qu'il s'agit d'une édition d'un texte il me semble utile de noter les coquilles que j'ai trouvées. Que l'auteur veuille prendre ces observations comme une contribution à une édition parfaite, cet idéal jamais réalisé. P. 48, 58 on lit *μέ* au lieu de *μή*; p. 58, 27 *ὁ δεύσαντες* au lieu de *ὁδεύσαντες*; p. 90, 18 *αὕτη* au lieu de *αὕτη*; p. 120, 17 *φυχῆς* au lieu de *ψυχῆς*; p. 154, 34 *ἑντεῦθεν* au lieu de *ἐντεῦθεν*; p. 208, 24 *τοιούτος* au lieu de *τοιούτους*; p. 222, 11 *κόσμω* au lieu de *κόσμῳ*; p. 234, 7 *ἑπτὰ* au lieu de *ἑπτὰ*.

La traduction française, par M. V.-H. Debidour, est d'une admirable lucidité. Une fois seulement je ne pouvais être d'accord avec son interprétation. Dans le deuxième discours (§ 45, p. 82) Méthode fait poser la question suivante: « Qui, après l'accouchement, transforme le nouveau-né, . . . lui donnant taille, beauté et vigeur, *εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ ἀριστοτέχνας, ὡς ἔφην, θεός, τῇ ποιητικῇ δυνάμει τῷ Χριστῷ μετασχηματίζων καὶ μεταζωγραφῶν τὰς ἰδέας*; » M. Debidour traduit: « si ce n'est ce même Suprême Ouvrier que j'ai dit, Dieu, qui, par sa Vertu créatrice, retouche et met au point ses Idées, comme un dessinateur et un peintre, pour en faire des images du Christ ». Je crois que le datif *τῷ Χριστῷ* a le caractère d'une apposition à *τῇ ποιητικῇ δυνάμει*, et que les deux préfixes *μετα-* ne signifient pas une transformation ou une variation mais une imitation. Je propose donc de traduire: « si ce n'est ce Suprême Ouvrier même que j'ai dit, Dieu, qui par sa Vertu créatrice, le

Christ, comme un dessinateur ou un peintre, imite et copie les Idées ».

Reste à dire que le texte présente tous les avantages de la série *Sources Chrétiennes.*

Rotterdam, Rosaliastraat 4 J. C. M. VAN WINDEN, O.F.M.

Eiliv Skard, *Index Asterianus* (Index de l'édition d'Astérius le Sophiste établie par Marcel Richard, Symb. Osl. Fasc. Supplet. XVI, Oslo 1956). Symbolae Osloenses Fasc. Supplet. XVII. Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1962. Pp. 160.

This very thorough index contains (1) a table of contents for Richard's edition, (2) an index of Old and New Testament passages, (3) an index of names, and (4) an index of words, with which their contexts are often included. Marcel Richard has added corrigenda and addenda based on recent discoveries. The volume thus provides a highly useful supplement to the edition.

My only questions arise in regard to the "citations" of non-biblical writings (p. 34); only two are mentioned, but I am not sure that either should be. (1) The quotation of Psalm 95, 10 as *ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου,* in a collection of "testimonies" (p. 134, 20-21) is ascribed to S. Justin; but Justin is only one among many witnesses to this interpolation (see most recently P. Prigent, *L'épître de Barnabé I-XVI et ses sources,* Paris, 1961, p. 113); Asterius is not using his works. (2) It is not certain that Asterius derives the "tag" on p. 76, 1 directly from the *Symposium* of Plato. (3) On the other hand, perhaps some mention should be made of Stoic sources for Asterius' remarks about the gods as elements (p. 9, 19-22); the closest parallels I can find for the gods as related to the four elements are in Diogenes Laertius 7, 147 (= SVF II 1021), while for Zeus as *ὑετός* one may compare Cornutus 9 (p. 9, 12 Lang): Zeus *ὑέτιος* and parent of the cosmos. The words about the conflict of water and fire recall Heraclitus B 76 Diels, but the parallel is not exact.

University of Chicago ROBERT M. GRANT

Vigiliae Christianae 18 (1964) 191–192; *North-Holland Publishing Co.*

BOOKS RECEIVED

(The inclusion of a book in this list, which contains all books received by the editors, does not guarantee its subsequent review.)

Ladislaus Ballay, Der Hoffnungsbegriff bei Augustinus. Untersucht in seinen Werken: De doctrina christiana, Enchiridion sive de fide, spe et caritate ad Laurentium und Enarrationes in Psalmos 1–91 (Münchener Theologische Studien, II. systematische Abteilung, 29. Band). München, Max Hueber Verlag, 1964. Pp. XIX, 311. Pr. DM 28.–.

Jean Colin, L'Empire des Antonins et les martyrs gauloises de 177 (Antiquitas, Reihe 1: Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte, Band 10). Bonn, Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1964. Pp. 226.

Hans Dehnhard, Das Problem der Abhängigkeit des Basilius von Plotin. Quellenuntersuchungen zu seinen Schriften De Spiritu Sancto (Patristische Texte und Studien, Band 3). Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1964. Pp. VIII, 100. Pr. DM 28.–.

Eine Antilogie des Eutherios von Tyana. Herausgegeben von Martin Tetz (Patristische Texte und Studien, Band 1). Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1964. Pp. XLVI, 90. Pr. DM 36.–.

Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron. 24/1: Epistula ad Ephesios [herausgegeben von Hermann Josef Frede]. 3. Lieferung: Eph. 3,13–4,30. 4. Lieferung: Eph. 4,30–6,12. Freiburg, Verlag Herder, 1963, 1964. Pp. each 80. Pr. each DM 23.50 (for subscribers DM 20.–).

Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva, Supplementa, Fasciculus I: A. J. Vermeulen, Le développement sémasiologique d'*ἐπιφάνεια* et la fête de l'Epiphanie. H. Hoppenbrouwers O.S.B., Conversatio, une étude sémasiologique. L. Engels, Fiducia dans la vulgate. Le problème de la traduction *παρρησία* – fiducia. Nijmegen, Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1964. Pp. 144. Pr. *f* 16.50 (for subscribers *f* 15.–).

Hans Grotz S.J., Die Hauptkirchen des Ostens. Von den Anfängen bis zum Konzil von Nikaia (325) (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 169). Roma, Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1964. Pp. XII, 260. Pr. L. 3500 ($ 6.50).

The Homilies of Saint Jerome. Vol. I (1–59 On the Psalms). Translated by Sister Marie Liguori Ewald, I.H.M. (The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation, Vol. 48). Washington, 17, D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, [1964]. Pp. XXII, 490. Pr. $ 6.75.

Alfred Jepsen – Robert Hanhart, Untersuchungen zur Israelitisch-Jüdischen Chronologie (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alt-

testamentliche Wissenschaft, 88). Berlin, Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1964. Pp. VI, 96. Pr. DM 18.–.

Mullus. Festschrift Theodor Klauser (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 1). Herausgegeben von Alfred Stuiber und Alfred Hermann. Münster i.W., Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964. Pp. VIII, 416, 17 pl. Pr. DM 68.–.

De Resurrectione (Epistula ad Rheginum), codex Jung F. XXIII^{r}–F. XXV^{v} (p. 43–50). Ediderunt M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till, R. Mcl Wilson, J. Zandee. Zürich, Rascher Verlag, 1963. Pp. 72.

Tertullian's Homily on Baptism. The Text Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary by Ernest Evans. London, S.P.C.K., 1964. Pp. XL, 122. Pr. 35/–.

Vigilae Christianae 18 (1964) 193-203; *North-Holland Publishing Co.*

THÈMES LÉVITIQUES DANS LA PRIMA CLEMENTIS

PAR

A. JAUBERT

C'est une vieille question que celle du caractère juif ou hellénisé de la première épître de Clément, mais quelle que soit l'opinion tenue sur l'origine de l'auteur de l'épître ou quelle que soit la place qu'on y accorde à certains thèmes communs de la philosophie populaire, nul ne songe à nier la dépendance de Clément à l'égard du judaïsme. Est-il possible de préciser davantage et de rechercher si Clément n'a pas été plus particulièrement sensible à certains courants intérieurs au judaïsme? Nous croyons qu'en plusieurs passages on peut discerner dans la Prima Clementis des thèmes de résonance lévitique ou sacerdotale.

De prime abord les chapitres les plus caractéristiques sont ceux de 1 Clém 40–41 où l'ordre cultuel de l'ancienne loi est proposé en exemple à la communauté chrétienne. Ce passage est précédé d'une longue citation de Job qui proclamait l'inanité des mortels devant Dieu et la folie des insensés qui n'ont pas de sagesse.

40,1 « Puisque nous nous sommes penchés sur les profondeurs de la connaissance divine, nous devons faire avec ordre tout ce que le Maître a ordonné d'accomplir selon des temps fixés. 2. Il a ordonné que les offrandes et les fonctions liturgiques s'accomplissent non pas au hasard ou sans ordre, mais à des temps et des moments déterminés. 3. Où et par qui il veut qu'on les accomplisse, lui-même l'a déterminé par sa décision souveraine, afin que toutes choses se passent dans la sainteté, selon son bon plaisir, et soient agréables à sa volonté. 4. Donc ceux qui présentent leurs offrandes aux temps marqués sont agréés et heureux, car en suivant les préceptes du Maître ils ne se trompent pas. 5. Car au grand-prêtre ont été dévolues des fonctions qui lui sont particulières, aux prêtres a été marquée leur place particulière, aux lévites sont imposés des services particuliers. Celui qui est laïque est lié par les préceptes propres aux laïques. 41,1. Que chacun de nous, frères, à son rang particulier, plaise à Dieu, en agissant selon une

conscience droite, avec dignité, sans enfreindre les règles qui ont été déterminées pour sa fonction. 2. Ce n'est pas partout, frères, qu'on offre des sacrifices, sacrifice perpétuel ou sacrifices votifs, sacrifices pour le péché et sacrifices de culpabilité, mais c'est seulement à Jérusalem. Et même en cette ville on n'offre pas en n'importe quel endroit, mais devant le sanctuaire, à l'autel, après un examen minutieux de la victime par le grand-prêtre et les ministres mentionnés plus haut. 3. Or ceux qui n'agissent pas en conformité à Sa volonté méritent la peine de mort. 4. Vous le voyez, frères, plus haute est la connaissance dont nous avons été jugés dignes, plus grand est le danger auquel nous sommes exposés ».

Ce passage commence et se termine par une allusion à la connaissance divine. C'est parce que les fidèles ont entre-aperçu les profondeurs de cette connaissance qu'ils ont compris qu'il fallait tout accomplir "avec ordre (*τάξει*)" dans le culte divin. L'ordre des cérémonies a été imposé par Dieu dans tous ses détails, et d'abord en ce qui concerne les temps fixés pour le culte; il faut ensuite respecter les fonctions propres à chacun, selon son poste hiérarchique dans le peuple; enfin il faut offrir la victime au lieu prescrit, c'est à dire à Jérusalem, sur l'autel, devant le sanctuaire, après l'examen rituel. Enfreindre ces règles, c'est être passible de mort. Si donc nous avons été jugés dignes d'une connaissance plus haute – celle de la nouvelle Alliance – à quel châtiment nous exposons-nous en enfreignant les prescriptions divines sur la discipline communautaire ! Cette préoccupation d'ordre et de discipline est première dans la Prima Clementis, puisqu'il fallait rétablir dans la communauté de Corinthe l'harmonie troublée par des dissensions internes et la révolte contre les presbytres.

Cependant pour quelques auteurs les conceptions d'ordre et de discipline qui s'expriment dans l'épître de Clément, et même en ce passage, s'expliqueraient par un contexte de pensée stoïcienne ou par certaines influences cultuelles du paganisme [1]. Ce point requiert quelques précisions.

Il est sûr que l'auteur de la Prima Clementis était perméable à certains thèmes courants du stoïcisme et de la prédication popu-

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[1] Voir A. W. Ziegler, *Neue Studien zum ersten Klemensbrief*, Munich 1958, p. 26. 28. Pour J. A. Fischer le thème du tagma apparaît dans tout ce passage avec évidence, *Die Apostolischen Väter*, Munich 1956, p. 75. 77.

laire [2]; il est sûr qu'il utilise des métaphores empruntées aux jeux du paganisme. Il est évident d'autre part que toute liturgie doit se dérouler selon un ordre précis et suivant des rites et des moments déterminés. Un thème d'ordre rituel devait trouver chez des païens une audience immédiate. Mais, comme l'a déjà montré M. Van Unnik pour 1 Clém 20, certains développements peuvent s'expliquer à la fois sur un terrain juif et sur un terrain grec [3]. Dans le texte précis qui nous occupe Clément se réfère aux règles rituelles du culte juif, à l'exclusion de tout autre exemple; il est normal de se demander si, tout en admettant la possibilité de colorations étrangères [4], les conceptions exprimées ici ne sont pas représentées dans le judaïsme.

L'ordre et la discipline qui réglaient les cérémonies du Temple sont bien connus par des témoignages appartenant à des milieux juifs divers. On pourrait énumérer les passages rituels du code sacerdotal ou du livre des Chroniques, ou bien les prescriptions du traité Yoma dans la Michna. Cependant il importe davantage de citer des textes qui insistent sur la notion d'ordre en tant que telle. Un exemple en serait une description du sacrifice de la Pâque dans le 3ème livre d'Esdras (1 Esdras LXX); le passage reprend la scène du Chroniste (2 Chron 35, 10–12) où prêtres, lévites et peuple agissent à leur place suivant un rituel déterminé; on trouve l'expression *ἐν τάξει* pour désigner l'ordre imposé aux lévites (1 Esd 1,5; cf. 1,15). Avec plus d'ampleur tout un paragraphe de la lettre d'Aristée célèbre le silence et la belle ordonnance des cérémonies du temple de Jésusalem (Aristée § 92–95).

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[2] Nous en avons vu nombre d'exemples pour le chapitre 37 dans notre précédent article, « Les sources de la conception militaire de l'Eglise en 1 Clém 37 », *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964), p. 74-84.

[3] W. C. Van Unnik, « Is I Clement 20 Purely Stoic? », *Vigiliae Christianae* 4 (1950) p. 181–189.

[4] Simple possibilité, car les expressions en litige avaient sans doute perdu leurs résonances particulières. Ainsi pour *συνείδησις* conscience (41, 1) qui est employé par les Septante (Eccl 10, 20 traduit *maddâ'*) et par Paul; voir l'analyse de M. Coune « Le problème des idolothytes et l'éducation de la syneidêsis », *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 51 (1963), p. 497–534. De même l'expression *ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι* dont le seul parallèle cité est 1 Cor 15, 23; c'est une idée fort banale de se tenir chacun à son rang dans une cérémonie cultuelle; dans la description du peuple au désert le livre des Nombres (LXX) emploie l'expression *κατὰ τάγμα* (Nb 2, 2.31.34).

Nos attestations les plus claires se trouveraient-elles dans des textes d'un judaïsme de langue grecque, et Clément serait-il alors en dépendance d'une conception de l'ordre cultuel surtout explicite chez les Juifs hellénisés? Mais une source ancienne du Testament de Lévi va fournir l'équivalent araméen de *ἐν τάξει* dans un contexte cultuel. Ce document est conservé à la fois en araméen (fragment de geniza de la Bodleian Library) et en grec (manuscrit *e* du Mont Athos) [5]. C'est un fragment de rituel qui règle minutieusement le comportement des fils de Lévi dans les fonctions sacrificielles. « Que tout ton ouvrage, dit Jacob à Lévi, soit fait selon les règles (*ἐν τάξει*) et que toute offrande de ta part soit selon le Bon Plaisir[6] et en parfum d'agréable odeur devant le Seigneur Très Haut. Quoi que tu fasses, fais-le dans les règles (*ἐν τάξει*) selon la mesure et le poids » [7]. Il s'agit en ce dernier cas des règles de poids et de mesure qui régissent les sacrifices. Le correspondant araméen de *ἐν τάξει* est *(b)srk*; le mot n'est pas biblique mais se trouve fréquemment dans le vocabulaire plus tardif de Qumrân pour désigner la règle, l'ordre, le rang [8].

Agir avec ordre — ou selon les règles — c'est donc un des principes les plus évidents de la tradition lévitique post-biblique. La recommandation que chacun se tienne à son poste, sans modifier son rang hiérarchique propre se retrouve dans les milieux sacerdotaux de Qumrân (cf. 1QS 2,22). D'après la Règle annexe les Lévites doivent faire entrer et sortir toute la congrégation, « chacun à son rang » (*bsrkw*) (1QSa 1,23); aux lévites est donc confié le soin du

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[5] Sur ces manuscrits voir R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Oxford 1908 (rééd. 1960), p. liii; les textes araméen et grec sont publiés p. 246 sv. Le manuscrit *e* du Mont Athos a conservé aussi un autre fragment du Testament de Lévi dont on trouve à Qumrân l'équivalent araméen, cf. J. T. Milik, RB 62 (1955), p. 399 sv.

[6] *εἰς εὐδόκησιν*; comparer 1 Clém 40,3 *ἐν εὐδοκήσει*.

[7] Charles, *ibid.* p. 250, frag. grec § 30–31, frag. bodléienne col. d, lignes 15 et 17.

[8] Le terme peut désigner la « règle » de la communauté (1QS 1, 1; 1, 16; 5, 1...), les divers règlements pour l'organisation des camps (CD 12, 22) et la guerre sainte (1QM 3, 13, etc...), la règle de la Loi (CD 7, 8), ou bien l'ordre des défilés (1QS 2, 20.21), l'ordre dans lequel chacun est inscrit dans la communauté (1QS 5, 23; 6, 22), donc le rang de chacun par rapport à ses frères; le terme *srk* apparaît fondamental dans les conceptions communautaires de Qumrân.

bon ordre communautaire. Pour les repas cultuels il est répété que chacun siège « selon sa dignité » (1QSa 2,14sv) et Josèphe insistera de même sur l'ordre qui régnait chez les Esséniens (Guerre Juive II 8,5 § 132.133). D'après ces derniers textes on voit que la notion lévitique de la *taxis* était transposable à une communauté dont les prêtres n'officiaient plus au temple.

Ainsi la notion cultuelle de *taxis* apparaît-elle liée à une « mentalité lévitique » [9]. On trouverait le terme de *taxis* en Luc 1,8 à propos du ministère de Zacharie au Temple [10]. Mais il est bien évident que cette notion déborde de beaucoup des milieux lévitiques: lorsque Paul souhaite l'ordre dans la communauté de Corinthe (1 Cor 14,40), c'est sans doute affaire de bon sens. La mentalité lévitique que nous discernons chez Clément se déduit de tout un contexte.

Un autre point attire l'attention dans ce passage de Clément. C'est l'insistance par trois fois sur la fidélité aux temps marqués et déterminés par Dieu. Assurément la législation de l'Ancien Testament édicte des règles précises sur les jours où doivent s'accomplir les diverses cérémonies du culte. Mais ces règles sont considérées comme allant de soi et nulle part ne provoquent de telles réflexions sur le caractère impératif des temps fixés. Les seuls milieux où nous connaissions une telle insistance sont les milieux juifs d'origine sacerdotale, séparés du Temple, qui sont représentés par le livre des Jubilés, le livre d'Hénoch, les documents de Qumrân, d'une façon générale ceux qui précisément sont en conflit sur les temps fixés [11].

D'autre part il est plus frappant encore que dans Clément l'ordre sacrificiel et la fidélité aux temps fixés soient mis en relation étroite avec les profondeurs de la connaissance divine: « Puisque nous nous sommes penchés sur les profondeurs de la connaissance divine, nous devons faire avec ordre tout ce que le Maître a ordonné d'accomplir selon des temps fixés ». Pour trouver une telle association d'idées, il faut s'adresser aux mêmes milieux.

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[9] L'expression est de Jean Colson, *Clément de Rome*, Paris 1960, p. 20.

[10] *ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας*. La notion de *taxis* est liée aussi à Aaron (Héb 7, 11) et à Melchisédec (Ps 109, 4 LXX; Héb 5, 10; 6, 20; 7, 11.17).

[11] Ces milieux peuvent avoir été largement répandus si l'on songe aux querelles de calendrier dont nous avons écho au Temple même (cf. A. Jaubert, « Jésus et le calendrier de Qumrân », *New Testament Studies* 7 (1960), p. 4–7) ou bien aux judaïsants auxquels Paul fait allusion en Gal 4, 10; Col 2, 16.

La conception la plus proche pourrait bien être celle de la colonne 10 de la Règle de Qumrân. L'hymne célèbre à la fois l'ordre du monde régi par les temps sacrés décrétés par Dieu et la connaissance merveilleuse que Dieu en donne à ses fidèles. Mais c'est bien l'esprit des documents de Qumrân que la connaissance des temps fixés est une connaissance essentielle, qui permet de servir Dieu « dans la sainteté, selon son bon plaisir et d'être agréable à sa volonté »; nous reprenons ici les expressions mêmes de Clément.

Il ne faudrait pas tirer de ces rapprochements des conclusions indues et parler immédiatement de caractéristiques esséniennes, même si par ailleurs, comme nous aurons l'occasion de le voir, certains parallèles ne sont attestés actuellement que dans des milieux esséniens. Il paraît plus prudent de parler d'influences lévitiques [12].

On remarquera combien l'influence paulinienne a peu joué sur les conceptions de Clément relatives aux temps fixés. En Gal 4,10 l'observation des jours, des mois, des saisons, des années est considérée comme un reste déplorable de judaïsation, et en Col 2,16 comme « l'ombre des choses à venir », une ombre à laquelle il ne faut pas s'attacher [13]. Pour l'auteur de la Prima Clementis le danger de judaïsation paraît hors de perspective; aussi peut-il prendre point d'appui sur les réglementations cultuelles de l'Ancien Testament. Sans doute l'appel aux prescriptions anciennes est-il destiné à mettre en valeur une connaissance plus haute qui est celle des chrétiens. Mais ces prescriptions ne sont pas considérées comme une « ombre » éliminée par la réalité du Christ comme dans l'épître aux Colossiens. Elles valent par les principes mêmes qui les animaient: discipline et esprit hiérarchique.

C'est là une différence étonnante de point de vue avec l'Epître aux Hébreux que Clément connaît pourtant et cite (1 Clém 36,2sv). L'Epître aux Hébreux s'attachait à montrer le caractère provisoire

[12] On remarquera le passage sur la peine de mort (41, 3) qui n'est pas d'origine biblique, mais qui correspond à ce que nous savons de la sévérité sadducéenne et d'autre part à la sévérité attestée dans le livre des Jubilés (cf. Jub 50, 8.13).

[13] En Rom 14, 5–6 Paul proclame davantage la liberté des enfants de Dieu en matière de jours. Serait-ce un indice que Paul ne voulait pas heurter dans la communauté romaine des cercles judéo-chrétiens où se manifestait une sympathie évidente pour les ordonnances rituelles de la loi ancienne, spécialement en matière de calendrier?

du culte ancien et des sacrifices d'animaux, insistant sur le caractère suranné de ce qui était révolu et caduc; Clément met l'accent sur la pérennité de l'esprit qui inspirait les ordonnances anciennes. Les deux régimes ne sont plus définis par contraste mais par ressemblance. Ces divergences montrent que les conceptions lévitiques de Clément ne peuvent être considérées simplement comme un legs de l'Epître aux Hébreux.

Une remarque analogue pourrait être faite à propos des passages où Clément présente Jésus comme le grand-prêtre de la communauté chrétienne: « Grand-prêtre de nos offrandes, protecteur et aide de notre faiblesse » (36,1); « grand-prêtre et protecteur de nos âmes » (61,3; 64). Clément s'intéresse principalement au caractère sacerdotal du Christ [14]; mais il est difficile de dire que Clément a emprunté à l'auteur de l'épître aux Hébreux sa christologie sacerdotale car, malgré les citations que Clément fait de cette épître (cf. 36,2sv), les différences sont grandes. L'épître aux Hébreux s'attache en effet à montrer que le Christ est grand-prêtre selon l'ordre de Melchisédec et une argumentation subtile prouve la supériorité du sacerdoce de Melchisédec sur celui de Lévi (Héb 7,4sv): Lévi est finalement dépouillé de toutes ses prérogatives. Or Clément — qui ne peut ignorer la typologie du sacerdoce de Melchisédec — n'y fait pas une seule fois allusion [15]. Pour reprendre une expression de l'épître aux Hébreux, on pourrait dire qu'il s'intéresse davantage à la *taxis* d'Aaron qu'à celle de Melchisédec (Héb 7,11). Sans doute pour Clément Jésus est-il le grand-prêtre céleste, et la foi dans le sacerdoce céleste du Christ était un principe de transmutation pour la notion même de sacerdoce, mais Clément n'insiste pas sur ce point; il s'attache à régler sur la terre la vie pratique de la communauté chrétienne.

Un autre passage met ce point de vue en évidence. C'est celui des chapitres 43–44 sur les rivalités que peut susciter la charge de « l'épiscopat ». De même qu'aux chapitres 40–42 la belle ordonnance du culte de Jérusalem introduisait, dans la pensée de

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[14] Seule allusion au royaume du Christ en 1 Clém 50, 3. En 32, 2 la tribu de Juda est citée après celle de Lévi; en 36, 4–5 le psaume 2 et le psaume 110 sont cités sous l'influence de l'épître aux Hébreux: Le caractère royal du Christ n'est pas séparé de ses prérogatives sacerdotales.

[15] Du psaume 110 n'est cité que le verset 1, en dépendance de l'épître aux Hébreux, en 1 Clém 36, 5.

Clément, le principe de la subordination hiérarchique dans le régime nouveau, de même au chapitre 43 l'épisode biblique sur le choix d'Aaron va manifester les manières d'agir permanentes de Dieu. Il s'agit des querelles et jalousies qu'a provoquées la primauté d'Aaron; l'exemple est donc encore tiré du sacerdoce lévitique. Ce qui était purement allusif en Héb 5,4 (« Il faut être appelé par Dieu comme Aaron ») devient pour Clément un argument qu'il développe et qui préfigure l'institution chrétienne. Tel que le raconte Clément, l'épisode de la verge fleurie (Nb 17, 16–26) met spécialement en relief « la tribu qui serait ornée du Nom glorieux »[16], c'est à dire la tribu de Lévi. Clément apparaît ici en dépendance d'une pensée juive très engagée dans les perspectives lévitiques.

Un petit texte de Clément en 32,2 pourrait encore être lourd d'importance pour notre propos. L'auteur veut montrer quelles sont les voies de la Bénédiction et il reprend les événements depuis le commencement, c'est à dire depuis Abraham. Après Abraham et Isaac la bénédiction s'est épanouie dans Jacob « qui a reçu les douze sceptres d'Israël ». Et l'auteur célèbre la magnificence des dons de Dieu en Jacob: « C'est de lui en effet que viennent tous les prêtres et lévites qui sont ministres de l'autel de Dieu; de lui que vient le Seigneur Jésus selon la chair; de lui que viennent rois, princes et chefs selon Juda; quant au reste de ses sceptres ils ne sont pas en mince honneur suivant la promesse de Dieu: Ta postérité sera comme les étoiles du ciel ».

On remarquera la place donnée à « notre père Jacob »[17]. Clément ne songe pas, suivant le raisonnement de l'épître aux Galates, à faire directement de Jésus l'héritier de la bénédiction d'Abraham. La bénédiction suit les chemins auxquels est habitué le judaïsme; d'Abraham, Isaac et Jacob aux douze tribus d'Israël. Les prêtres et lévites sont cités en premier, signe de la primauté de Lévi, puis

[16] Le Nom glorieux (*ἔνδοξος*) en ce passage est certainement le Nom divin d'après les parallèles juifs; voir Dt 28, 58; Sir 47, 18 héb; 1QS 6, 27 (*šm hnkbd*); cf. A. Jaubert, *La notion d'Alliance dans le judaïsme*, Paris 1963, p. 109–110, 149, 353. Sur la signification du « Nom » chez Clément, on trouvera une intéressante analyse dans J. Ponthot, « La signification religieuse du Nom chez Clément de Rome et dans la Didachè », *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 35 (1959), p. 339–361.

[17] De même 1 Clém 4, 8. C'est là une conception très juive, mais on ne peut s'empêcher d'évoquer la place de premier plan faite à Jacob dans le livre des Jubilés (cf. Jub 16, 18; 21, 24–25; 22, 13...).

Juda, et enfin le reste des tribus. Cet ordre de succession Lévi – Juda est connu d'un judaïsme à la fois palestinien et alexandrin [18]; il est dû sans doute à l'influence des milieux sacerdotaux sur beaucoup de traditions juives.

Ce qui est matière à discussion, c'est la place singulière donnée à Jésus entre la tribu de Lévi et celle de Juda. Les critiques qui refusent de voir ici une allusion de Clément à une ascendance lévitique de Jésus donnent comme raison la dépendance de Clément par rapport à l'épître aux Hébreux, laquelle ne semble connaître que l'ascendance par Juda [19]. Cependant cette argumentation paraît insuffisante, puisque sur des points importants Clément se détache nettement des perspectives de l'épître aux Hébreux.

Il a existé une tradition judéo-chrétienne attestée par les Testaments des XII Patriarches et chez Hippolyte de Rome sur la double origine de Jésus fils de Lévi et fils de Juda, tradition reprise par Saint Ambroise [20]. On ne voit pas comment, dans un contexte qui traite d'origine, il est possible d'expliquer la séquence tribu de Lévi – Jésus – tribu de Juda, sans se référer à cette tradition. Ce qui est vrai, c'est que la phrase de Clément n'est pas explicite. L'insertion de la personne de Jésus entre les deux tribus peut apparaître comme une interpolation chrétienne assez maladroite dans un développement juif préexistant; elle peut provenir soit d'une source de Clément, soit de Clément lui-même sous l'influence d'une tradition connue. Le caractère un peu ambigu de la phrase pourrait laisser supposer que Clément ne prend pas complètement cette tradition à sa charge. De toutes manières ce passage doit attirer l'attention et il s'explique au mieux par l'influence des cercles qui ont vu se développer les remaniements chrétiens des Testaments des XII Patriarches.

En d'autres endroits de l'épître de Clément se manifestent également des préoccupations qu'on pourrait qualifier de lévitiques, tant y est mis l'accent sur la nécessité de la sainteté, de la pureté,

[18] Cf. *La notion d'Alliance*, p. 273, 398.

[19] Heb 7, 13–14. C'est ainsi que Lightfoot repoussait l'hypothèse de Hilgenfeld, *Apostolic Fathers* I, 2, Londres 1890, p. 99.

[20] Test. Siméon 7, 2; Lévi 2, 11; Dan 5, 10; Gad 8, 1; Joseph 19, 11. Pour Hippolyte voir L. Mariès, « Le Messie issu de Lévi chez Hippolyte de Rome », *Recherches de Science Religieuse* (Mélanges Lebreton t. 1), 1951, p. 381–396, et *Patrologie Orientale* t. 27 (1954), p. 53, 73, 126, 144. Pour Ambroise, *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum*, chap. 3, § 14.16.

de la continence [21]. Mais quelle que soit cette insistance, comme ces préoccupations sont communes à bien des milieux juifs et bien des passages néo-testamentaires, et comme il est toujours difficile d'apprécier des questions de « dosage », nous nous bornerons à signaler un texte curieux cité par Clément comme passage de l'Ecriture: « Voici que le Seigneur prend pour lui une nation du milieu des nations, comme un homme prend les prémices de son aire; et de cette nation sortira le saint des saints (*ἅγια ἁγίων*) ». Et Clément enchaîne: « Si donc nous formons une portion sainte, accomplissons toutes les oeuvres de la sainteté » (29,3–30,1).

L'expression *ἅγια ἁγίων* qui peut se traduire « saint des saints » ou « les choses les plus saintes » est évidemment appliquée par Clément au peuple chrétien. Il est plus difficile de déterminer la pensée de l'auteur inconnu qu'il cite, quoique on ne voie pas très bien quel sens pourrait avoir ce texte s'il visait seulement les choses du culte ou bien la partie la plus sainte du Temple. Dans sa formulation actuelle il se réfère normalement à une personne, ou à une collectivité ou à un régime nouveau de sainteté qui « sortira » de la nation sainte; le terme de « sortir » doit faire allusion à un Reste très saint. Le meilleur parallèle — et peut-être le seul — à une conception où une communauté sainte se considère comme un Reste et s'applique l'expression « saint des saints » se trouve dans les documents de Qumrân [22]. En tous cas l'interprétation de Clément se situe exactement dans cette ligne. La notion de communauté-sanctuaire n'est pas nouvelle dans le christianisme, mais Clément est le seul à prendre appui sur une « écriture » non canonique avec l'expression *ἅγια ἁγίων*.

Il est sûr que l'utilisation par Clément d'un certain nombre d'apocryphes inconnus dont certains sont apocalyptiques [23] et qu'il cite comme textes scripturaires pose le problème des milieux juifs dans lesquels étaient véhiculés de tels documents, vénérés à l'égal des Ecritures. Ce point demande des recherches spéciales et dans l'état actuel de notre documentation réclame une grande prudence.

Au cours de cette étude nous avons discerné certains rapprochements avec des conceptions qumrâniennes ou esséniennes. Ces

[21] 1 Clém 21, 8; 28, 1; 29, 1; 33, 4; 35, 2...

[22] Cf. *La notion d'Alliance*, p. 84, 141, 155–160.

[23] Cf. 1 Clém 23, 3–5 qui témoigne d'une attente eschatologique.

rapprochements sont à retenir, mais, pour ne pas trop tôt les interpréter, il nous a paru plus sage de parler globalement de thèmes lévitiques.

Un point paraît certain: ces thèmes « lévitiques » qui percent en plusieurs passages de la Prima Clementis ne peuvent se limiter à l'héritage de l'Epître aux Hébreux. Il faut donc penser qu'ils sortent de cercles judéo-chrétiens qui avaient droit de cité dans la communauté chrétienne de Rome et qui remontaient eux-mêmes à des milieux de prêtres juifs. Des recherches plus étendues seraient nécessaires pour formuler autre chose que des hypothèses sur le caractère de ces milieux [24]. On voit seulement combien il serait intéressant de pouvoir cerner certaines des influences qui ont été importantes dans la communauté chrétienne ancienne de Rome et qui ont agi sur la conception des fonctions sacrées dans la communauté ecclésiale.

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[24] Rappelons qu'en Héb 13, 24 des frères d'Italie saluaient les destinataires de l'Epître aux Hébreux; ces destinataires devaient être des prêtres non sadducéens, dont par ailleurs les doctrines ne peuvent être confondues avec celles de l'auteur de l'Epître; il faut donc supposer un certain lien entre eux et l'Italie.

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LAW AND ARBITRARINESS IN THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS AND JUSTIN'S FIRST APOLOGY

BY

PAUL KERESZTES

I

The legal basis of the persecutions of the Christians in the first two centuries has long been a subject of keen controversy. The disputants were divided, on the whole, into three groups, making the legal basis of persecution either the *ius coercitionis*, or the application of ordinary criminal laws, or a special law proscribing all Christians. Thanks to the work of C. Callewaert, however, there is today an almost general agreement that the Christians, under normal circumstances, were not tried on the basis of either the *ius coercitionis* or the general criminal law,[1] *but* on the basis of a special law introduced during Nero's rule, proscribing Christians as such.[2] It is clear from the well-known correspondence of Pliny and Trajan [3] that before and at the time of this correspondence there was a law proscribing Christians as such. Hardly anybody argues now that this special law was introduced by Trajan. However, Trajan did define more clearly the actual legal status of the Christians and prescribed a procedure to be followed in trials of Christians accused of Christianity. It is clear from the Emperor's Rescript that Christians REMAINED proscribed as to the confession of their faith just as before. However, in future, they were not to be sought out by the government, but on the other hand, if

[1] See C. Callewaert's articles, especially: Les persécutions contre les chrétiens dans la politique religieuse de l'état romain, Rev. des quest. hist. vol. 82, 1907, pp. 5–19; Les premiers chrétiens et l'accusation de lèse-majesté, Rev. des quest. hist. vol. 76, 1904, pp. 5–28; Les premiers chrétiens furent-ils persécutés par édits généraux ou par mesures de police, Rev. hist. eccl. vol. 2, 1901, pp. 771–797; vol. 3, 1902, pp. 5–15; pp. 324–348; pp. 601–614.

[2] C. Callewaert: Les chrétiens furent-ils etc. esp. pp. 781–794; Les persécutions contre les chrétiens etc. esp. pp. 7–19.

[3] X. 96 and 97.

denounced and found guilty, they were to be punished. Furthermore, those who denied their faith, and, perhaps, proved their apostasy e.g. by adoring the gods of Rome, were to be pardoned. Finally, anonymous denunciations were not to be allowed. This legal position as defined by Trajan remained in force, in spite of deviations from it, at least to the end of the second century,[4] even perhaps up to the time of the special edict of Decius. The question, whether the special law forbidding the existence of Christians was a *senatus consultum* or an Imperial edict of Nero has not been satisfactorily resolved.[5] For the purpose of this article, this question is irrelevant. The fact that Christians were outlawed from the time of Nero is not doubted. The procedural vagueness inherent in the Neronian anti-Christian law should have been dispelled by Trajan's Rescript, which, moreover, should have ensured orderliness in, and excluded arbitrariness from, anti-Christian trials.

II

An accusation based on a penal law, an inquiry of the accusation, followed by a confession or a denial, and, finally, a verdict of condemnation or acquittal were the essential elements of an individual's criminal trial.[6] Tertullian considers the same elements to be essential in a legal case inquiring into the crime of Christianity of an individual.[7] Trajan's Rescript to Pliny expressed or implied

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[4] Cp. Tertullian, Apol. *passim*; see also C. Callewaert, Questions de droit concernant le procès d'Apollonius, Rev. des questions historiques vol. 77, 1905, pp. 349–375.

[5] The strongest supporter of the Imperial edict theory is J. Zeiller, see his articles: "Institutum Neronianum", Loi fantôme ou réalité?, Rev. hist. eccl. vol. 50, 1955, pp. 393–399; Nouvelles remarques sur les persécutions contre les chrétiens aux deux premiers siècles, Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati, Studi e Testi, 125, vol. 5, pp. 1–6; Sur un passage de la passion du Martyr Apollonius, Mélanges Jules Lebreton, II. Recherches de Science Religieuse vol. 40, 1952, pp. 155–157; and Nouvelles observations sur l'origine juridique des persécutions contre les chrétiens aux deux premiers siècles, Rev. hist. eccl. vol. 46, 1951, pp. 521 ff. On the other hand C. Callewaert (esp. in his article, Les premiers chrétiens furent-ils etc. esp. pp. 338–347) is inclined to regard this special anti-Christian law a *senatus consultum*.

[6] See C. Callewaert, Le délit de christianisme dans les deux premiers siècles, Rev. des quest. hist. vol. 74, 1903, esp. pp. 35–36.

[7] Ad Nat. I. 3, 6.

all these elements: the special law making Christianity a crime, a personal accusation of Christianity, inquiry into the crime of Christianity and of no other crimes, etc., a confession or denial of Christianity, and, finally, a sentence of condemnation of the accused if guilty of Christianity, or acquittal if the accused denies his Christianity and gives proof that he is not a Christian by adoring the gods of Rome; Trajan, furthermore, probably out of moderation, offers pardon to the accused even if they in fact were Christians in the past, provided that they offer the same proof of apostasy; the Emperor, moreover forbids the seeking out of the Christians and the admission of anonymous denunciations.

Such was to be the pattern of regular anti-Christian trials after Trajan's Rescript. As for the pre-Rescript period, we cannot apply the Rescript as a yardstick of regularity or irregularity. The first Neronian persecution[8] which erupted after the Great Fire of Rome was the result of extraordinary measures taken by Nero. An unknown number of Christians were convicted not so much of starting the fire as of "odium humani generis", just as the *tenuiores* and the *illustres* of Tacitus,[9] especially Thrasea,[10] were convicted of "hostile attitude towards the state". The whole impression is that at this particular time there was still no law forbidding the existence of Christians and that the above measure of Nero was taken on the basis of the *ius coercitionis* for reasons of "security".

No concrete cases of anti-Christian trials can be found under Domitian. The Christianity of Flavius Clemens, Glabrio, and others condemned by Domitian is most doubtful.[11] Eusebius may refer to these persons merely as victims of Domitian, without regarding them as Christians,[12] Melito's reference to Domitian's attitude towards Christians is vague,[13] Tertullian's brief rhetorical attack on the same Emperor sheds no more light on the nature of "Domitian's persecution of Christians".[14] Eusebius writes about

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[8] Tacitus, Annales, XV. 44.

[9] Annales, XVI. 5 ff.

[10] Ibid. XVI. 21 ff.

[11] See Suetonius, Dom. 15; Dio Cassius, LXVII. 14; Cp. H. Grégoire, Les persécutions dans l'empire romain, 1950, p. 27.

[12] H.E. III. 17, 1.

[13] At Eusebius, H.E. IV. 26, 9.

[14] Apolog. C. 5.

martyrdoms and persecutions of Christians under Domitian,[15] and among the persecuted he names Flavia Domitilla.[16] However, there is no trace of Domitilla's association with Christianity before Eusebius.[17] The story relating to the persecution of the House of David [18] is no proof of Christian persecutions. Then, there is no, or almost no, direct evidence of Christian persecutions during Domitian's reign, and it would seem that if Christians were persecuted, they were not persecuted as Christians. Pliny's letter to Trajan,[19] however, clearly shows that Christians had been tried for the crime of Christianity well before this letter was written, undoubtedly during Domitian's rule also. The "Cognitiones de Christianis", by this time, must have been a well-established institution especially in this part of the Roman Empire. Pliny had no doubt that Christianity was a crime, but the special law forbidding the existence of Christians was obviously vague with respect to procedure.

Even though the Rescript of Trajan prescribed a strict and clear procedure for the trials of Christians, it by no means enjoyed a universal application in the strict sense, for those who wished to harass Christians in a far less responsible way often turned to arbitrary methods. Although Tacitus is referring to the Christians as *per flagitia invisi* in describing the outburst of persecutions after the Great Fire, and although it is possible that the *flagitia*, clearly imputed to the *exitiabilis superstitio* of the Christians at the time when the Annals were being written, were the reason or at least the pretext for making the Special Law against the Christians, we cannot be certain of the real reason for this legislation. At any rate, this law, by flatly forbidding the existence of Christians, most naturally made Christians appear an abominable race capable of committing all kinds of crimes. This is suggested also by Pliny's letter to Trajan, in which the governor of Bithynia seems to take it for granted that the Christian name was condemned on account of these *flagitia*. That the outright condemnation of the Christian

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15 H.E. III. 18, 4 ff.

16 Cp. Dio Cassius, LXII. 14, 1–2.

17 J. Moreau, A propos de la persécution de Domitien, Nouv. Clio, 1953, pp. 122–125.

18 Eusebius, H.E. III. 19–20, 1 ff: Hegesippus.

19 X. 96.

name suggestive of these crimes became responsible, in spite of Trajan's Rescript, for many abuses is made evident by the Apology of Quadratus where it is implied that Christians were widely harassed not just by mob violence, but in a way quite contrary to the provisions of Trajan's Rescript. The same situation is seen in Hadrian's Rescript to Minucius Fundanus.[20] Eusebius [21] makes a reference to Serenius Granianus' writing to Hadrian, in which the proconsul of Asia proposes to put an end to trial-processes where people were condemned without *proper* accusation and trial, just to appease the clamoring mob. This abuse must have been serious enough to force the proconsul to make this move. It can also be safely assumed that this abuse was successfully practised during the terms of Granianus' predecessors and tried, likely unsuccessfully, under Granianus himself.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Hadrian found it important to answer Granianus' letter by a Rescript [22] even to Minucius Fundanus, the next proconsul of Asia, in order to rectify the abuse in the proconsulate. The Emperor shows no hostility toward the Christians, but neither does he show any favors. His sole preoccupation clearly is to safeguard the course of justice in spite of the mob and some weak magistrates. On the basis of a plain analysis the following points are offered as the facts of the procedural pattern which Hadrian intended to correct:

(1) The accused involved in this trial-pattern were Christians;
(2) the procedure was started, at the demand of the mob, by the arrest of the accused;
(3) the charges of the mob were possibly of any crime at all;
(4) if Christianity was not among these initial charges, then, at any rate, the Christianity of the accused would come to light during the procedure and arbitrarily become the basis of a new charge, on which the accused were sentenced;
(5) the proof for (4) is that otherwise the Christianity of the initially accused would be irrelevant;

[20] Justin, Apol. I. 68; Eusebius, H.E. IV.9. That the Greek version of the Rescript is substantially genuine has been proved by C. Callewaert, Le Rescrit d'Hadrien à Minucius Fundanus, Rev. d'hist. et de littér. relig. vol. 8, 1903, pp. 152–189.

[21] H.E. IV. 8, 6.

[22] 123 A.D.

(6) in case Christianity was the initial charge, arbitrariness was shown immediately at the initiation of the procedure by starting it without an individual accuser;
(7) that Christianity was probably not among the initial charges in this trial-pattern would follow from Justin, Apol. I. 68, 9;
(8) from Justin, Apol. I, 68, 10, also, it would seem most likely that charges of crimes other than Christianity were responsible, in the initial stage of the procedure, for the existence of the pattern of trials, which Hadrian wished to put right with his Rescript to Minucius Fundanus.

Hadrian's prescriptions were aimed at putting an end to this trial-pattern: these mob-trials were to be discontinued; accusations by shouting only were not to be accepted; if *anyone* wanted to accuse the Christians of *any* crime, he had to do it in the regular way, coming forward, personally, at a tribunal; the crime *itself* was to be proved; in case the charge was proved, the accused was to receive proper punishment; if the accuser failed, he was to receive proper punishment. In effect, Hadrian's Rescript would have ensured the success of Trajan's Rescript and, furthermore, made it imperative that if a Christian was accused of *any* of the *flagitia* imputed to the Christian *name*, the proof of this particular *flagitium*, irrespective of the accused person's Christianity, should be the deciding factor.

Even if the so-called decree of Antoninus Pius to the *KOINON* of Asia [23] is to be regarded to a substantial degree as a fabrication, it still indicates that Christians were seriously troubled in that province not only by common everyday annoyances but also, and especially, by progrom-like "trials", the pretext for which were the *flagitia* popularly imputed to the Christian name.

The "trial" that claimed Polycarp's life [24] shows exactly the same characteristics which Hadrian's Rescript meant, long before, to rectify, and against which, at an earlier date, Justin, as we shall see, protested in his First Apology. This trial shows clearly, moreover, that in the Asian Arena the Rescripts of Trajan and Hadrian continued to be ignored. The Asian pattern is well recognizable in Polycarp's trial: (1) at the demand of the non-

[23] At Eusebius, H.E. IV. 2, 1 ff.
[24] At Eusebius, H.E. IV. 15, 1 ff.

Christian mob, in contradiction to Trajan's Rescript and to the express prohibition of Hadrian's Rescript, Polycarp is arrested on the charge of "atheism"; (2) and sentenced on the basis of his confession of Christianity.

The facts of the tragedy at Lugdunum [25] prove a shocking arbitrariness and a wide disregard of the Rescripts of Trajan and Hadrian. This tragedy was the outcome of the hostility of the *Asian* mob of Lugdunum, which, through the callous complacency, and even perhaps initiative, of the local authorities, had to be satisfied by the blood of the Christian "criminals". Only Marcus Aurelius' Rescript [26] could, with more or less success, put an end to this arbitrary situation.

III

Chapter 4 of Justin's First Apology gives a consecutive Statement of Facts, but we also find facts relating to the case scattered throughout this writing. In these statements, the full weight of the Neronian anti-Christian law and the cold, businesslike procedural prescriptions of Trajan's Rescript are clearly recognizable. C. 7, 4, implies that Christians were sentenced to death *AS* Christians. In C. 8, 1, Justin, saying that it was in the power of Christians to save their own lives by denying their Christianity makes an obvious statement of the legal position of the Christians.[27]

The same legal situation, as defined by the Neronian law and Trajan's Rescript, is again laid down in C. 11, 1–2. In C. 24, 1,[28] and in C. 45, 5,[29] there are statements implying the above anti-Christian laws.

In the Statement of Facts in C. 4, the same laws are recognized as the decisive factor in the trials Justin was writing about. C. 4, 1, explicitly states that the Christian *name* was a crime without any reference to the *flagitia* imputed to it.[30] In C. 4, 5, we find that at

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[25] At Eusebius, H.E. V. Pref.–1, 1–63.

[26] At Eusebius, H.E. V. 1, 47.

[27] Also: C. 8, 2: *ἀλλ' οὐ βουλόμεθα ζῆν ψευδολογοῦντες.*

[28] *μισούμεθα δι' ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντες ὡς ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀναιρούμεθα.*

[29] *καίπερ θανάτου ὁρισθέντος κατὰ τῶν διδασκόντων ἢ ὅλως ὁμολογούντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

[30] *ἄνευ τῶν ὑποπιπτουσῶν τῷ ὀνόματι πράξεων.*

trials Justin has in mind the Christian *name* was a capital charge made against those brought before the magistrates, and in C. 4, 6, it is evident that Trajan's prescriptions concerning the confession and the denial of Christianity of the accused prevailed.[31]

As far as these statements go there seems to be no arbitrariness in the trials envisaged by the First Apology. Even when he writes[32]: *δέον καὶ τὸν τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος βίον εὐθύνειν καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρνουμένου, ὅπως διὰ τῶν πράξεων ὁποῖός ἐστιν ἕκαστος φαίνηται,* Justin appears to argue against the injustice inherent in the Neronian law and in the procedure prescribed by Trajan's Rescript. He seems to suggest here that these laws are unjust, because they, as it were, plainly assume the criminality of the Christian name, and because at trials the name alone, as it were, was taken, if confessed, as proof of unspecified *flagitia*, and disproof, if denied.

Exactly the same impression may be obtained from the *propositions* he makes to his addressees in the *exordium* of his First Apology.[33] These *propositions* might easily lead us to the conclusion that Justin wanted nothing else than that Christians, when formally and regularly accused of Christianity, be not condemned on account of the *NAME alone*, but that they be examined with respect to the *flagitia* imputed to it, and that if found guilty of any of these crimes, they should be punished accordingly, if not, freed. This, of course, would amount to virtual emancipation of the Christian name. The *division* of the Apology[34] might well corroborate this conclusion. Finally, when Justin carries out this simple plan by

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[31] *καὶ πάλιν, ἐὰν μέν τις τῶν κατηγορουμένων ἔξαρνος γένηται τῇ φωνῇ μὴ εἶναι φήσας, ἀφίετε αὐτὸν ὡς μηδὲν ἐλέγχειν ἔχοντες ἁμαρτάνοντα, ἐὰν δέ τις ὁμολογήσῃ εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν κολάζετε.*

[32] C. 4, 6.

[33] C.2, 3–4: *οὐ γὰρ κολακεύσοντες ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλήσοντες, ἀλλ' ἀπαιτήσοντες κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἐξεταστικὸν λόγον τὴν κρίσιν ποιήσασθαι προσεληλύθαμεν, μὴ προλήψει μηδ' ἀνθρωπαρεσκείᾳ τῇ δεισιδαιμόνων κατεχομένους ἢ ἀλόγῳ ὁρμῇ καὶ χρονίᾳ προκατεσχηκυίᾳ φήμῃ κακῇ τὴν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ψῆφον φέροντας. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς οὐδενὸς πείσεσθαί τι κακὸν δύνασθαι λελογίσμεθα, ἢν μὴ κακίας ἐργάται ἐλεγχώμεθα ἢ πονηροὶ διεγνώσμεθα,* and more explicitly in C.3, 1: *ἀξιοῦμεν τὰ κατηγορούμενα αὐτῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι, καὶ, ἐὰν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἀποδεικνύωνται, κολάζεσθαι ὡς πρέπον ἐστί, . . . εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοι τις ἐλέγχειν, οὐχ ὑπαγορεύει ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος διὰ φήμην πονηρὰν ἀναιτίους ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτούς, οἳ οὐ κρίσει ἀλλὰ πάθει τὰ πράγματα ἐπάγειν ἀξιοῦτε.*

[34] *ἡμέτερον οὖν ἔργον καὶ βίου καὶ μαθημάτων τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν πᾶσι παρέχειν . . .*

presenting to his addressees a summary of the Christian doctrines and life, we might well once more believe that, indeed, Justin proposes in the *peroration* [35] that Christians be examined with respect to the *flagitia* even when charged with the crime of Christianity in strict obedience to Trajan's Rescript.

Having reached these conclusions, one, of course, will have to accuse Justin of misunderstanding the Christian trials of his experience, or, as an alternative, of entirely misinterpreting Hadrian's Rescript, since in the *peroration* of the First Apology [36] the author states that, instead of explaining the life and doctrines of the Christians, he could have simply asked his addressees to see to it that trials follow the prescriptions of Hadrian's Rescript, (for indeed, the Emperor Hadrian offers no favors to the Christians, trying only to safeguard the strict course of justice.) For, if Justin understood the anti-Christian trials of his experience correctly and the argument of his Apology is aimed against the inherent injustice of Trajan's Rescript in order to obtain the virtual emancipation of the Christian name, then his interpretation of Hadrian's Rescript is incorrect. On the other hand, if his interpretation of this Rescript is correct, then his main argument cannot be aimed at the practical emancipation of the Christian name. Thus it seems that Justin is wrong one way or another. But before one accuses Justin of lack of intelligence, comprehension and scholarship, perhaps, one should pause and ask: Can Justin be correct both in his interpretation of Hadrian's Rescript *and* in his understanding of anti-Christian trials?

The impression of the apparent paradox in the First Apology should be easy enough to understand. The charge of his misinterpretation of Hadrian's Rescript would necessarily be caused by an assumption that Justin's main argument in the Apology is aimed against the basic injustice of Trajan's Rescript in order to obtain the emancipation of the Christian name. For to put forth

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[35] C.68,1: *Καὶ εἰ μὲν δοκεῖ ὑμῖν λόγου καὶ ἀληθείας ἔχεσθαι, τιμήσατε αὐτά· εἰ δὲ λῆρος ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, ὡς ληρωδῶν πραγμάτων καταφρονήσατε, καὶ μὴ ὡς κατ' ἐχθρῶν κατὰ τῶν μηδὲν ἀδικούντων θάνατον ὁρίζετε.*

[36] C.68, 3: *καὶ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ, τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν, ἔχοντες ἀπαιτεῖν ὑμᾶς καθὰ ἠξιώσαμεν κελεῦσαι τὰς κρίσεις γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κεκρῖσθαι τοῦτο ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ μᾶλλον ἠξιώσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι δίκαια ἀξιοῦν τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἐξήγησιν πεποιήμεθα.*

a detailed philosophical argument – and this is what Justin has done instead of merely calling on Hadrian's authority from the outset – against the arbitrary trial-pattern of Asia, which Hadrian wished to rectify, *or* to put forth a detailed philosophical argument against the fundamental injustice of Trajan's prescriptions may produce exactly the same proof. For, to say that it is unjust to assume that the Christian name in itself is criminal, that it means the *flagitia* (atheism, treason and other crimes) and that thus all Christians are guilty of these crimes amounts, in fact, to arguing both against the injustice of Trajan's prescriptions and the arbitrariness of the Asian trial-pattern which Hadrian wished to correct. This is why one might conclude from Justin's statements and arguments in the First Apology that he was writing against the injustice of the condemnation of the Christian name and that the author of the Apology misinterpreted Hadrian's Rescript, and this is exactly why, and on Justin's own authority in appealing to Hadrian's Rescript as the final argument to support his case, we can conclude that Justin was writing against the arbitrariness of the trial-pattern which this Rescript was to correct. And just as from the Rescript of Hadrian we could reconstruct the arbitrary trial-pattern prevalent in Asia, we can reconstruct the same from Justin's First Apology. And while reconstructing this trial-pattern from the text of the Apology, one cannot help noticing the striking similarities between Justin's suggestions to his addressees and Hadrian's prescriptions to Minucius Fundanus:

(1) Christians are arrested for the alleged *flagitia*, like atheism, treason, etc. at the demand of the mob;
(2) they are not convicted of any of these crimes, yet punished;
(3) they are not formally accused of Christianity by an individual, yet sentenced on account of Christianity; if they confess their Christianity and persevere, they are condemned; if they deny it, they are acquitted, – by the force of Trajan's Rescript and the special anti-Christian law;
(4) this trial-pattern is contrasted with trials other than those involving Christianity, where charges were strictly examined, and the accused were punished if found guilty of the particular charge, and freed, if not guilty;
(5) Justin demands that Christians charged with the alleged *flagitia* be treated likewise;

(6) in contrast to Hadrian's demand for proper punishment, he, moreover, asks for impunity for the individual accuser if the charge of *flagitia* fails, implicitly demanding that there be an individual accuser.

To all appearances, Justin has known, up to date, only the arbitrary trial-pattern of Asia, and has not yet experienced a frosty, businesslike trial following strictly Trajan's Rescript. But during his stay in Rome he will learn of his true "Roman pattern" of anti-Christian trials. That this Trajanian pattern was a revelation and shock to him will be clear from C. 2 of his Second Apology, where he describes the martyrdom of a Ptolemaeus with its background. Apparently he will know only of one other similar trial in Rome, his own. In this Second Apology he will show that he was perfectly capable of differentiating between a Trajanian pattern and what we have called an Asian pattern, and in his Second Apology he will never demand the examination of the *flagitia*.[37] For, at the time of the writing of the Second Apology he has been well settled in Rome, and come to learn clearly that in Rome the accused were tried for what they had been accused of, thieves for thefts, Christians for Christianity.

Waterloo (Ontario, Canada),
University of Waterloo, Classics Department

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[37] *κατηγορούμενα,* Apol. I C.3, 1.

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PSEUDO-MACARIUS AND THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS

BY

DOM AELRED BAKER

The homilies that pass under the name of Macarius [1] continue to perplex scholars as to their true author, place of origin and sources.[2] Recent work has brought strong arguments for Asia Minor and perhaps Syria as the place [3] and the last quarter of the fourth century as the time of composition.[4]

Nevertheless the work bears some influence from Egypt. The Messalian movement to which the author almost certainly belonged,[5] had adherents in Egypt [6] and some comparison of their doctrine with that of the egyptian monks can be made.[7]

[1] The extant works are known by three types: I. Vatican MS gr. 694 in great part unedited; see the paraphrase and analysis in H. Doerries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien: Die Ueberlieferung der Messalianischen "Makarios"-Schriften*, Leipzig, 1941. II. The Migne edition PG 34. III. The newly discovered MSS edited by E. Klostermann and H. Berthold, *Neue Homilien des Makarius/Symeon. I aus Typus* III, Berlin, 1961.

[2] For a succinct account of the state of the question see E. Peterson, *Macario il Grande* art. Enciclopedia Cattolica, vol. vii.

[3] Arguments for this view are assembled by W. Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*, Leiden, 1954, pp. 227–230.

[4] This date is based on a comparison between the so-called Great Letter of Macarius (ed. Jaeger op. cit.) and the De Instituto Christiano written by Gregory of Nyssa after 390 (so Jaeger op. cit. p. 119). It has been shown by R. Staats, *Der Traktat Gregors von Nyssa De Instituto Christiano und der Grosse Brief Symeons* (paper read at the Fourth International Conference on Patristics held at Oxford 19th Sept. 1963) shortly to appear in Studia Theologica, that Gregory is here dependant on Macarius. Therefore the latter had reached his literary maturity before 390.

[5] This is conceded by nearly all scholars—not however W. Voelker in an important review of Dörries' book op. cit. in ThLZ 1943 c. 132 ff. On the sect see A. Guillaumont, *Les Messaliens* in *Mystique et Continence*, Les Etudes Carmélitaines, Paris, 1952, pp. 131–138.

[6] See E. Peterson, *I Messaliani* art. in Enciclopedia Cattolica vol. viii.

[7] See M. Kmosko, *Patrologia Syriaca*, Paris, 1926, pars I t. iii p. cxlv. The syrian bishop Philoxenus himself derived the Messalian doctrine from the desert fathers.

Macarius himself uses the monastic jargon familiar from the desert fathers [8]: he once refers [9] to his followers as of '*συναγωγῆς*' which is a term in coptic literature for a monastic community.[10] He is also familiar with the ritual of baptism by fire as known also to the ascetics of Egypt.[11] Again he cites Mt 6, 21 as follows *ὅπου ὁ νοῦς σου, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ θησαυρός* [12] against the textus receptus *ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θησαυρός σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδία σου*. The same reversal of the logion appears in the coptic Pistis Sophia [13] and this, together with *νοῦς* for *καρδία* appears in Clement of Alexandria [14] and the coptic work of Pseudo-Shenoute.[15] Finally an agraphon from the Didache 3, 10 is cited as scripture [16] in the manner of Origen in his Alexandrian period [17] and with a similar variant from the received Didache text.[18]

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[8] See an exhaustive article on monastic vocabulary around Macarius' time by G. M. Colombas, *El Concepto de Monje y Vida monastica hasta fines del siglo V*, in Studia Monastica vol. i fasc. 5, 1959, pp. 257–342. He cites Macarius rarely—and never from the homilies (see pp. 266 and 277)—but nearly all the typical words and phrases studied can be found there.

[9] The so called Great Letter ed. Jaeger op. cit. p. 256, 6.

[10] Cf. the works of Besa the fifth century abbot in upper Egypt: see *Letters and Sermons of Besa*, ed. and tr. K. H. Kuhn, CSCO no. 22, Louvain, 1956, p. 72, 28 (the greek word is translitterated into coptic).

[11] See C.–M. Edsman, *Le Baptême de Feu*, Uppsala, 1940, p. 154 ff, giving several examples from egyptian asceticism parallel in thought and expression with the homilies of Macarius.

[12] PG 34, 773A.

[13] Tr. C. Schmidt, GCS , Leipzig, 1905, p. 131, 24 "Wo euer Herz ist da wird euer Schatz sein".

[14] Strom. vii. 12, 77, GCS, vol. iii, p. 55, 15: *ὅπου γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τινὸς, φησίν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ θησαυρὸς αὐτοῦ* (cf. p. 170, 20–21).

[15] *On Christian Behaviour*, ed. and tr. K. H. Kuhn, Louvain, 1960, p. 41, 16 the coptic transliterates '*ψυχὴ*'.

[16] Type III (ed. Klostermann and Berthold) p. 44, 6; following other NT quotations he says *ἀλλαχοῦ* (his normal phrase for introducing a random text from scripture) *τὰ ἐπιφερόμενά σοι πάντα ὡς ἀγαθὰ πρόσδεξαι εἰδώς, ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.*

[17] De Princip. iii. 2, 7, GCS, vol. v, p. 255, 'docet nos scriptura "divina omnia quae accidunt nobis tamquam a Deo illata suscipere, scientes quod sine Dio nihil fit"'. This suggests that Origen, at least in his early life in Alexandria, held the Didache as canonical: see J. Ruwet, *Les Antilegomena dans les œuvres d'Origène* art. Biblica xxiii, p. 37–8.

[18] Against the Didache 3, 10 and the Ep. of Barnabas 19, 6, Macarius has '*πάντα*' a. '*ὡς ἀγαθὰ*' cf. Origen 'omnia'. Macarius can not be simply

It is the purpose of this article to draw attention to a more particular influence from Egypt by a comparison with the coptic Gospel of Thomas.[19]

1) Logion 89 runs "Why do you wash the outside of the cup? Do you not understand that he who made the inside is also he who made the outside?".

This is parallel to Luke 11, 39–40 with two important variants

(a) 'wash' in place of *καθαρίζετε*

(b) 'inside . . . outside' in place of *ἔξωθεν . . . ἔσωθεν*; cf. Macarius [20] *τὸ ἔσωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος πλῦνον, . . . ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸ ἔσωθεν καὶ τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐποίησεν.*

These variants have a similar significance in that they ignore the liturgical meaning of St. Luke's logion. Our Lord is condemning the pharisees because they think that a mere external purification of the liturgical vessels will suffice. The Gospel of Thomas and Macarius have little interest in this point. To them it is the inside that is primary: and by 'inside' they mean the psychological and moral interior of the individual man. For Macarius this is a fundamental point in his teaching. The interior alone matters: by comparison the outward acts of justification are worthless.[21]

2) Logion 46 runs "There is none born of woman who is greater than John the Baptist . . . But I have said who will be among you as a little one shall know the kingdom and be greater than John".

Macarius also has a passage on the Baptist [22] in which he cites similar texts:

(a) *Ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν οὐδεὶς μείζων Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ*

(b) *Μείζων Ἰωάννου ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν οὐδείς· ὁ δὲ μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστιν.*

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quoting Origen because he has '*τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα*' for Didache's *συμβαίνοντα* = 'quae accidunt' (Origen).

[19] The division of logia follows the edition of A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till, and Yassa 'Abd al Masih, *The Gospel according to Thomas*, London and Leiden, 1959. The translations used are from this or R. McL. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas*, London, 1960.

[20] Type III p. 38, 28–30.

[21] Type III p. 168–9.

[22] PG 34, 713C–D.

(c) *Οὗτος οὖν ἐστιν ὁ μικρὸς ὁ μείζων Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ.*

Both our authors have a mixture of Mt 11, 11 and Lk 7, 28 with some significant variants:

(i) the first part of the text is comparable to Luke but neither has the NT *μείζων ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν Ἰωάννου οὐδείς ἐστιν.* Their version is nearer to the Codex Bezae addition to Lk 7, 26 p. *προφήτου*: *ὅτι οὐδεὶς μείζων ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν προφήτης Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ.*

(ii) for the second part, Macarius in (c) above has '*μικρός*' for '*μικρότερος*': cf. Gospel of T. 'a little one'. The significance of this is great. For the New Testament wishes to say that all in the kingdom are greater than John, therefore, even the least—*μικρότερος*. Whereas the Gospel of Thomas and Macarius mean that only those who are small—*μικρός*—are greater than John.

This enhances the prestige of the Baptist. But in Asia Minor in the fourth century where Macarius wrote there was still a lively anti-Jewish feeling [23] which had expressed itself in the depreciation of John the Baptist. Thus in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies [24] we find the phrase *ὁ ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν* used pejoratively, as including John among the false prophets.[25] It is possible, therefore, that Macarius turned to Egypt where an opposite tendancy is apparent. In a coptic apocryphal fragment attributed to James [26] giving an extravagant eulogy of the Baptist, Mt 11, 11 is cited as 'Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is lesser than he is great in the kingdom of heaven'. This seeks to minimise the Gospel's belief in the superiority of all Christians over John. Again in the coptic 'Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel' [27] it is said that Our Lord called John 'ein Kleiner in seiner Lebenzeit, aber ein Grosser vor Gott und den Menschen

[23] See P. C. Baur, *Der Heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, München, 1929, p. 274–6.

[24] *Die Pseudoklementinen*, I *Homilien*, ed. B. Rehm, Berlin, 1953, Homily II. 17, 2 p. 42, 3–4.

[25] See G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, Berlin, 1958, p. 189.

[26] See E. O. Winstedt, *A Coptic fragment attributed to James the Brother of the Lord* text and tr., JTS viii, 1906–7, p. 240–8: Mt 11, 11=p. 245.

[27] Ed. and tr. C. Detlef and G. Mueller, CSCO t. 32, Louvain, 1962, p. 35–6.

in seiner Reinheit' and therefore 'er ist der grösste von allen Gerechten in Meinem Königreich' [28] says the Lord.

This latter text gives us the reason for John's superiority – it is his virginity (Reinheit). So also the Pseudo-Clementine letter 'De Virginitate' places the Baptist first in the line of those who follow Christ in virginity.[29] This is presumed by Macarius for it is those souls who are wedded to Christ (*αὐτοὺς παρανύμφους, νυμφεύοντας ψυχὰς Χριστῷ*) who are little (*μικρός*) and greater than John.

3) Logion 86 has been re-constructed as follows: "[the foxes have] the[ir holes] and the birds have [their] nest, but the Son of Man has no place to lay his head and rest".

In comparison with Lk 9, 58 (Mt 8, 20) this has the addition 'and rest'. The logion has been carefully studied by Strobel [30] who thinks the addition due to a double translation of some original syriac.[31] Be that as it may, Macarius in Syria likewise has this addition *ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ καὶ ἀναπαῇ* [32] although the near contemporary author of the Liber Graduum from the same ascetical movement [33] concludes the citation of Mt 8, 20 with 'non habuit reclinatorium capiti in terra'. We conclude that Macarius has gone elsewhere for this variant.

Strobel has also shown that if the logion is a translation from syriac no 'gnostic' significance or any other can be attached to the addition 'and rest'. Macarius, however, definitely does see a

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[28] Op. cit. p. 37, 9 ff.

[29] Latin translation of the syriac version in *Patres Apostolici* ed. F. Diekamp, Tübingen, 1913 p. 9–10. Coptic version ed. and tr. by L.–Th. Lefort, *Les Pères Apostoliques*, CSCO vol. 136, Louvain, 1952, p. 33. There is an important difference in the two versions which shows the superiority of John in the coptic. Lefort has 'ressemble en tout à (ce) précurseur et *ami du Seigneur*' whereas Diekamp has 'Imitare ergo Domini nostri legatum et *esto amicus eius* in omnibus'.

[30] A. Strobel, *Textgeschichtliches zum Thomas-Logion* 86, VC vol. 17 (1963), p. 211–224.

[31] Art. cit. p. 222: he notes how the syriac in Aphraat and Peschitta means more than the greek '*κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ*' (was genauer besagt "um sein Haupt anzulehnen, zu stützen, auszuruhen).

[32] Type III p. 26, 28–29.

[33] *Liber Graduum*, ed. with latin tr. M. Kmosko op. cit.; for the relation of the work to the Messalian movement and Macarius see the introduction p. cxxxix–cxlix.

great significance there as the context shows. He has been saying how Christ at the end of our lives will bring back our souls to rest '*ἀποφέρει τὰς τοιαύτας ψυχὰς εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν*'.[34] Mean whilewe have to labour all our lives, remembering how the Lord Himself lived. Then follows Lk 9, 58 as cited above; the implication being that just as Christ in his earthly life found no rest – *ἀναπαῇ* – neither shall we. The 'rest' is reserved for the next world. This is an important element in our author's eschatology and it is clear that the verb '*ἀναπαύω*' as the noun '*ἀνάπαυσις*' have for him the special eschatological significance of Christian and Jewish Apocalyptic.[35]

4) Logion 27 runs " . . . if you keep not the Sabboth as Sabboth, you will not see the Father". Doresse paraphrases as "if you do not make the Sabboth the [true] Sabboth".[36] The parallel Oxyrhynchus fragment has '*καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα*'[37] giving the verb '*σαββατίζω*' where the coptic twice translitterates the greek noun '*σάββατον*'.

Macarius has a passage on the same subject.[38] He illustrates the end to which good souls attain: '*Ἡ γὰρ καταξιωθεῖσα ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ ῥυπαρῶν λογισμῶν, καὶ ἀληθινὸν Σάββατον σαββατίζει, καὶ ἀληθινὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἀναπαύεται* [39] and later *ὅσαι ψυχαὶ πείθονται καὶ προσέρχονται, ἀναπαύει αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τούτων . . . ἀκαθάρτων λογισμῶν . . . σαββατίζουσαι Σάββατον ἀληθινόν.*

The verb '*σαββατίζω*' is rare among Christian writers except in an agraphon *σαββατίζειν ὑμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διαπαντὸς ἐθέλει* [40] preserved by Justin,[41] Tertullian,[42] Pseudo-Ignatius [43] and in

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[34] Type III p. 26, 11–12.

[35] Cf. Apoc. 7, 16: for jewish apocalyptic see H. Riesenfeld, *Jésus Transfiguré*, Copenhagen, 1947, p. 292–302.

[36] J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, London, 1960, appendix ii (tr. L. Johnston).

[37] Text in A. Resch, *Agrapha: Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente*, TU xxx, Leipzig, 1906, Agraphon 48 (Grenfell and Hunt 1 p. 8 lin. 6–8) p. 68.

[38] PG 34, 748A–D.

[39] 748 A14: and D1.

[40] See Resch op. cit. Agraphon 74 p. 99.

[41] PG 6, 500C.

[42] PL 2, 644B.

[43] *Patres Apostolici*, ed. F. Diekamp, Tübingen, 1913, Mag. c. 9 p. 124, 8, 9.

Pseudo-Jerome referring to some obscure judaeo-Christian sect.[44] These agree with the Gospel of Thomas and Macarius in interpreting '*σαββατίζω*' in a spiritual sense.[45] The 'sabbatising' is not a liturgical act of the Christian community but the asceticism of the individual soul. We conclude therefore, that Macarius has touched an ancient tradition known to have some witness in Africa and Egypt.

5) Logion 3 runs "'Behold, the Kingdom is in heaven' . . . But the kingdom is within you, and it is outside you. When you know yourselves, then shall you be known . . ."

The parallel Oxyrhynchus fragment has been reconstructed as follows[46] *καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστι καὶ ὅστις ἐν ἑαυτὸν γνῷ ταύτην εὑρήσει*. In comparison with Lk 17, 21 this has the variant *τῶν οὐρανῶν* for *τοῦ θεοῦ*.

This variant appears in the greek[47] and coptic versions of the Vita Antonii,[48] among the Naasenes cited by Hippolytus[49] and in Evagrius of Pontus[50]: and also in Macarius.[51] Such a variant is possible by a mere error of reminiscence of Mt 13, 11 etc. But there are strong reasons to suppose that Macarius adopted it deliberately.

It is certain that this variant was in the text of his community: for he cites it twice[52] in the authentic works, it is retained in the greek versions[53] and appears in the original text of the opusculum

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[44] Indiculus de haeresibus: 'Masbothei dicunt ipsum Christum esse qui docuit illos in omni re sabbatizare'. On the sect see Resch loc. cit.

[45] Cf. also Macarius Type III p. 167, 29–30 '*ὁ διὰ τῆς ἀργίας τῶν ματαίων λογισμῶν καὶ ῥυπαρῶν ἐννοίων σαββατίζων πάντοτε*' cf. the agraphon cited above 'in omni re sabbatizare'.

[46] See H. G. Evelyn–White, *The Second Oxyrhynchus Saying*, JTS xvi, 1914–15, p. 246–250, text and commentary.

[47] C. 20 PG 26, 873A; but not in the appended latin translation.

[48] *Vita Antonii: versio sahidica*, ed. and tr. G. Garitte, CSCO, Louvain, 1949, p. 15, 4.

[49] Refut. V. 7 texts in W. Voelker, *Quellen zur Geschichte der christlichen Gnosis*, Tübingen, 1932, p. 13, 24 and 18, 17.

[50] In letter viii printed in Migne under Basil PG 32, 265C.

[51] Great Letter ed. Jaeger op. cit. p. 269, 11 and Type III p. 161, 9.

[52] Type III p. 161, 9 is from the Moscow Codex 177, the parallel MSS from Mount Athos (p. 160) lack the whole phrase.

[53] See the Epistola in Migne PG 34, 432C: opusculum 'De Oratione'

De Patientia et Discretione, written by a disciple.[54] One of these is particularly relevant to our thesis and will be examined more closely.

The text is as follows: [55] *εἶπεν ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ὧδε ἢ ἐκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔσωθεν ὑμῶν ἐστιν. πάλιν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει . . . εἰσί τινες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι μὲν τὰ τῆς βασιλείας μὴ λαλοῦντες δὲ ἐν φυλακῇ οὐδὲ ἐν γνώσει. ἐν οἷς δὲ γέγονεν ὁ λόγος τοῦ σωτῆρος, τὸ ἡ βασιλεία ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν, ὀλίγοι καὶ σπάνιοί εἰσι.*

The first point to notice is that two non-canonical versions of Lk 17, 21 are introduced as the words of the '*σωτήρ*'. This title for Christ is never used in this way in the New Testament but appears in an Oxyrhynchus fragment of a gospel [56] and introduces other agrapha from the Gospel according to the Hebrews,[57] from Clement and most frequently Origen.[58] Iraneus [59] tells us that the gnostics were very fond of the title but it is also frequently used by the Alexandrian Fathers.[60] We conclude that Macarius has adopted an expression known to be current in early Christian and gnostic circles in Egypt.[61]

PG 34, 853A: but the latin version of Type III p. 161, 9 in Isaias 'Oratio xix' PG 40, 1155C has 'Regnum Dei'.

[54] Migne PG 34, 877C has *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* but the recently discovered and preferable Kiev MS of the opuscula has '*ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*' see K. Treu, *Zu einer Kiewer Handschrift der Opuscula des Makarios* in *Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik*, TU 77, Berlin, 1961, p. 294–310: variant noted p. 302.

[55] Type III p. 161, 9 ff.

[56] *Fragment of an uncanonical Gospel from Oxyrhynchus*, ed. Grenfell and Hunt, Oxford, 1908. Text and commentary in ZNW 1908 (ed. E. Preuschen) line 18 *ὁ σωτὴρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν.*

[57] Cited by Origen In Joan. ii. 12, 87, GCS, vol. iv, p. 67, 19–21; see Resch op. cit. Apokryphon 2 p. 216.

[58] In '*The fragments of Heracleon*', ed. A. E. Brooke, Cambridge, 1891, from the Comm. on John, there are some thirty uses of the word nearly always in connection with some utterance by our Lord or to him.

[59] PG 7, 449B: *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Σωτῆρα λέγουσιν (οὐδὲ γὰρ Κύριον ὀνομάζειν αὐτὸν θέλουσι).*

[60] Clement for example uses it to introduce an agraphon Excerpta Theodoti § 2 (Resch Agraphon 141 p. 180) and also for indisputable texts from scripture, see e.g. Quis Dives Salvetur c. 10, 11.

[61] So M.–J. Lagrange, *Nouveau Fragment non canonique relatif à L'Evangile.* Revue Biblique v, 1908, p. 544.

The actual citation of Lk 17, 21 once follows Oxyrhynchus *(ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν)* and once the Gospel of T. *(ἡ βασιλεία)*. The significance of these variants from *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* has sometimes been referred to the gnostics desire to avoid the term 'God';[62] but the other Oxy. fragments certainly contain *'τοῦ θεοῦ'* [63] as also Macarius in the citation above. The significance really lies in its semitic character. For the 'kingdom of heaven' or simply the 'kingdom' is the form from the hebrew Bible and Rabbinic tradition [64] whereas 'kingdom of God' is from the greek-Gentile influence in the Septuagint and St. Luke. Therefore we conclude that Macarius follows a judaic tradition of the text preserved in Egypt.

The cumbersome phrase 'is within you, and it is outside you' applied by logion 3 to the kingdom is comparable to a phrase in a similar context applied by Macarius once to the Spirit and once to the soul.[65]

The interpretation of Lk 17, 21 also provides some parallels. Both our authors are in agreement with nearly all patristic exegesis in understanding *'ἐντός'* as 'within' [66] in the sense of inside the individual Christian.[67] But both go further and connect it with 'gnosis': cf. 'when you know yourselves, then shall you be known' with Macarius' complaint that some do not speak the things of the kingdom *'ἐν γνώσει'*: and with this compare Macarius elsewhere [68] *'αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτὸν οὐ γινώσκει, ἕως οὗ ὁ κύριος αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύψει'*.

6) Logion 22 runs "If we then be children, shall we enter the Kingdom? Jesus said to them: When you make the two one, and

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[62] See R. M. Grant with D. N. Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*, London, 1960, p. 116.

[63] This point is made by H. F. D. Sparks in a review of some of the latest commentaries on the Gospel of Thomas: JTS 1962, p. 157.

[64] See G. Dalman, *Die worte Jesu*, Leipzig, 1898, vol. i, p. 77–9.

[65] PG 34, 564 D and 768 A.

[66] See C. H. Roberts, *The Kingdom of Heaven (Lk. XVII. 21)* art. Harv. Th. Rev. vol. xli, 1948, p. 1–8. Our oxy. frag. is cited in this sense p. 6 note 19.

[67] See the Great Letter, ed. Jaeger *τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν τί ἄλλο σημαίνει ἢ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος οὐράνιον εὐφροσύνην (τὴν) ταῖς ἀξίαις ψυχαῖς ἐνεργῶς γινομένην.*

[68] Type III p. 95, 13–14.

if you make the inside as the outside . . . and when you make the male and female into a single one . . ."

There are elements in this logion which compare with certain eschatological expressions in Macarius.

(a) The Second Coming is described as follows [69] *Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος. εἰς θεικὴν γὰρ φύσιν ἅπαντες μεταβάλλονται, καὶ τέκνα θεοῦ γενόμενοι. Ἐκεῖ ἀνεπαισχύντως τότε λαλήσει εἰρήνην ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῇ.* The significance of this text is the use of Gal 3, 28 (there is neither male nor female) to indicate the sexless state of the world to come, when we shall be 'children' and brother and sister speak together 'without shame'. This application is suggested by the Gospel of Thomas and by a parallel passage in the Gospel according to the Egyptians.[70] Clement of Alexandria [71] accuses the encratites in citing this agraphon, of abusing the true sense of Gal 3, 28. It is possible, then, that Macarius is here following an encratite tradition known to us from Egypt.[72]

(b) In another eschatological passage in a commentary on the Transfiguration he says that the inner glory in the heart will be revealed in the last day also outwardly in the body: *ἡ ἔσωθεν οὖσα . . . ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔξωθεν εἰς τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ὑπερεκχεῖται* which may be an expansion of the idea in the logion that the end is 'when you make the inside as the outside'.[73]

(c) The expression of Macarius *ἐν Χριστῷ . . . πάντες ἐν ἑνὶ φωτί* may be compared with another logion – 77 – 'I am the light that is over them all'.

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[69] PG 34, 745A–B.

[70] Ex Clem. Strom iii. 13, 92 *ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἕν καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ.*

[71] Loc. cit. GCS, vol. ii, p. 238, 27 ff.

[72] For the sect see G. Bareille, *Encratites* art. D.T.C. vol. v. i, cc. 4–14. The agraphon also appears in 2 Clem. 12, 4 where the phrase is explained *ἀδελφὸς ἰδὼν ἀδελφὴν οὐδὲν φρονῇ περὶ αὐτῆς θηλυκόν, μηδὲ φρονῇ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀρσενικόν.*

[73] PG 34, 601C. The agraphon in the Gospel of Thomas is explained in 2 Clem. loc. cit. as follows *τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, τοῦτο λέγει· τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει τὸ ἔσω, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ σῶμα λέγει.* This interpretation of inner and outer is clearly given by Macarius in the Great Letter ed. Jaeger p. 245, 1 ff. *τὸν ἔξω ἄνθρωπον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα . . . καὶ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή.*

Conclusion. Recent study has shown the probability that Macarius lived in Syria and was influenced by syrian writings. Older commentators misled by the title 'Macarii Aegyptii' to the Migne edition of the homilies [74] found many similarities with egyptian monasticism.[75] In this they were not entirely mistaken. For the movement to which Macarius is now known to have belonged had indeed some common ground with the asceticism of the desert. In this article we have attempted to show some more particular similarities with an ancient egyptian tradition revealed to us by the Gospel of Thomas. There are scripture references, agrapha, phrases and ideas that are comparable. They show that Macarius in Syria has drawn, in some way, from a tradition far removed in time and place from his immediate environs.

Roma, Collegio de Sant' Anselmo

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[74] Most of the greek versions have the name 'Macarius' but some and the whole arabic tradition goes under the name of 'Symeon'. Probably the one name is as arbitrary as the other and tells us little of the real author (see Jaeger op. cit. p. 151–2).

[75] E.g. C. Gore, *The Homilies of St Macarius of Egypt,* JTS viii, 1906–7, p. 85–90.

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THE SYRIAN THOMAS AND THE SYRIAN MACARIUS

BY

G. QUISPEL

It is always gratifying when two scholars, each independently of the other, make the same discovery. This is the case with the relationship between the *Gospel of Thomas* and the writings of the so-called Pseudo-Macarius. The present author had already sent a note on the subject to the secretary of the board of *Vigiliae Christianae*, and notified Prof. H. Dörries in Göttingen of his findings, when the learned and scholarly article by Dom Aelred Baker was brought to his notice. He found reasons to blush because he had missed some points which Dom Baker most effectively made. On the other hand he wondered whether some of the parallels he found would not carry almost the same conviction. For, after all, the only passage in Macarius which corresponds almost word for word with the *Gospel of Thomas* is the following.[1]

ὡς φησιν ὁ κύριος· ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ χαμαὶ ἤπλωται καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἐμβλέπουσιν αὐτήν.	l. 113: But the Kingdom of the Father is spread upon the earth and men do not see it.

A vaguer allusion to the same saying may be found in an unpublished passage, which after my request was most generously put at my disposal by Prof. Dörries. But at the same time this passage preserves some of the wording of another famous *logion* contained in the *Gospel of Thomas*, the parable of the fisherman:

ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σαγήνῃ πολλὰ εἴδη ἐμπίπτει καὶ τὰ ἀχρηστότερα πάλιν ὁ θηρατὴς εἰς τὸν βυθὸν ῥίπτει· οὕτως καὶ ἡ σαγήνη τῆς χάριτος ἐφαπλοῦται εἰς πάντας καὶ ζητεῖ ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐχ ὑπακούουσιν	l. 8: that wise *fisherman*, he threw all the small fish *down into the sea.*

It is not necessary for readers of this journal to be told that this form of the parable has its counterpart in Clement of Alexandria,

[1] H. Dörries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien*, Leipzig, 1941, pp. 224, n. 3.

Aphraates and the old-Saxon *Heliand*, and that it may reflect an independent, though not necessarily better, tradition of the original Aramaic version. Let it suffice to observe that here, contrary to Matthew XIII, 47–48 and in accordance with the *Gospel of Thomas*, we find the *one* fisherman and the fish which are thrown back *into the sea*.[2]

There are two other parallels which speak for themselves and do not seem to need any further commentary; one is taken from the old *Homilies*[3] and the other from the new *Homilies*.[4]

Hom. 1, 11, I, c. 461:
οὐαὶ σώματι . . . καὶ οὐαὶ ψυχῇ
Hom. 23, III, p. 121, 8:
ἐάν τις ὁδεύῃ ὁδὸν μακράν . . . βαστάζῃ δὲ μαρσίπιον μεστὸν ἄμμου, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἔχῃ κάτωθεν ὀπὴν λεπτοτάτην, καὶ ὅσω βαδίζει καθ' ὅλης τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποῤῥέῃ . . . καὶ τέλος . . . ἡ βαρυτάτη ἄμμος ἐκενώθη

l. 112:
woe to the flesh . . .
woe to the soul . . .
l. 97:
The Kingdom of the ⟨Father⟩ is like a woman who was *carrying* a jar *full* of meal. While she was *walking* ⟨*a*⟩ *far way*, the handle of the jar broke, the meal *streamed out* behind her on the road . . . After she came into her house, she put the jar down, she found it *empty*.

These four examples, quite apart from the abundant material offered by Dom Baker, are sufficient to show that Macarius most probably knew the *Gospel of Thomas* and alluded to it in his writings. Therefore other parallels, which in themselves do not carry the same conviction, may be adduced now to show how deeply the fourth-century author was influenced by the wording and also by the conceptions of the apocryphal Gospel. For the moment I prefer to make a provisional statement, just listing some of the parallels which are to be found in the fifty old *Homilies* and the twenty eight new *Homilies*. A complete study can only be made, when the edition prepared by Prof. Dörries and the complete material of Klostermann-Berthold have been published. Prof. Dörries has most generously allowed me to have access to the photocopies of unpublished manuscripts at his disposal. I would like to come back

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[2] *Vig. Chr. XVI*, 3/4, 1962, p. 150.
[3] Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, tomus 34 (= I).
[4] E. Klostermann — H. Berthold, *Neue Homilien des Makarius / Symeon*, Berlin, 1961 (= III).

to the subject, when these unpublished texts have been thoroughly investigated in view of their relation to "Thomas".

Ep. 2, I, c. 416: *ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ ἀποθεμένη τὴν τοῦ προσώπου αἰσχύνην μόνου δηλαδὴ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου νυμφίου κοινωνεῖ, ὡς αὐτὴ μονότροπος*	l. 37: When you take off your clothing without being *ashamed* l. 75 (only) the *solitary (μοναχός)* are the ones who will enter the *bridal chamber.*
Hom. 6, 7, I, c. 521: *Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐφάνη κόσμος καινός.*	l. 51: when will the new world come?
Hom. 16, 11, I, c. 621: *ἐπέρχονται γὰρ οἱ λῃσταί*	l. 21: lest the brigands find (a) way to come to you.
Hom. 36, 1, I, c. 749: *ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν ψυχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γίνεται.*	l. 51: What you expect has come,
Hom. 10, 3, III, p. 56, 17: *καὶ γίνεται διπλοῦς*	l. 11: when you have become two, what will you do?
Hom. 11, 2, III, p. 59, 8: *πόλις ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ ἢ ὄρει κειμένη*	l. 32: a city being built on a high mountain
Hom. 22, 3, III, p. 112, 27: *ἐπλούτησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς*	l. 81: Let him who has become rich become king
Hom. 28, 1, III, p. 163, 10: *γνωρίζουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι υἱοί εἰσι τοῦ ἐπουρανίου*	l. 3: If you (will) know yourselves, then ... you will know that you are the sons of the Living Father

It should be observed, however, that the *Gospel of Thomas* was not the only writing that was known to Macarius or whoever the man was who wrote these "Tracts for the Times". He quotes abundantly from a Greek New Testament, of which it would be interesting to discuss the text-type in detail. Moreover he shows some acquaintance with the *Diatessaron* of Tatian. So when he repeatedly says that a man has to *leave* his father and his mother.[5] This disagrees from the wording of the *Gospel of Thomas*, l. 55 ("whoever does not *hate* his father and his mother") as well as from

[5] *Hom.* 45, 1, I, c. 785: *ἀφῆκε πατέρα κτλ.*

Matthew X, 37 and Luke XIV, 25–27, but it agrees with the *Persian Diatessaron* and is supported by a host of Syrian witnesses.[6] And it has been rightly observed that this is an encratitic correction very much in the spirit of Tatian. For it is much harder to forsake one's family altogether, including wife and children, than merely to put God or Christ before one's relatives in the case of a conflict between religious and social duties. These contacts with the *Diatessaron* may confirm the impression that Macarius originated from Aramaic-speaking Syria, where even at his time the *Diatessaron* was still freely used in the Christian communities as Holy Writ. Perhaps he was born somewhere in Mesopotamia, and even, perhaps, in Edessa. Now this is important because Semitic Christianity in these regions was during the fourth century still very different from Hellenistic Christianity and still preserved some archaic, primitive traditions of its own. It may be useful to assume that Macarius came from Mesopotamia and was familiar with the traditions of Semitic Christianity, in order to see his teaching in the right perspective.

Moreover it cannot be denied that the Gospel quotations in Macarius sometimes show a striking similarity to the synoptic tradition in the *Pseudo-Clementine writings*, which were equally written in Greek by an inhabitant of Syria. Of course the Gospel quotations of the *Clementines* are an old and painful problem.

But is it reasonable to suggest that these writings reflect an independent and spontaneous development of Jewish Christianity in Syria and to maintain at the same time that the Gospel material contained in the *Clementines* has nothing to do with Jewish Christianity, but is derived from the four canonical Gospels? Everybody who can read French can know that this cannot be true. For the *Gospel of Thomas* has indeed something in common with the *Pseudo-Clementine writings*. It does say that James was appointed by the Lord himself as His successor (l. 12), just like the *Clementines* (*Rec.* 1, 43). This seems to reflect a Jewish-Christian conception, the primacy of James, the brother of the Lord. Moreover, the Gospel of Thomas does say that the Pharisees have *received* the keys

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[6] *Diatessaron Persiano*, ed. Messina, p. 295: non lascia il padre ... A. Vööbus, *Celibacy*, p. 20, quotes Syrian witnesses for this variant, among whom the *Liber Graduum*, ed. M. Kmosko, col. 920 sq.

of knowledge (l. 39), thus implying that the Pharisees are the legitimate successors of Moses, who dispose of the authoritative interpretation of the written Law. This same idea is a stock theme of the *Clementines* (*Hom.* III, 18, 3 etc.) and typically Jewish-Christian.

How then can anybody deny that the author of these writings was influenced by a specific Jewish-Christian Gospel tradition?

But Macarius makes us even wonder whether the author of the *Clementines* did not use a Jewish-Christian Gospel which was not the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* or the *Nazarene Gospel*. For the quotations of Macarius sometimes show a marked affinity with the *Clementines*.

I quote a few examples:

Hom. 19, 2, I, c. 644:	Ps. Clem. *Hom.* 3, 57, Rehm p. 77, 21:
Γίνεσθε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ χρηστοί, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος οἰκτίρμων ἐστί.	*Γίνεσθε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.*
Hom. 16, 1, III, p. 78, 4 (Mt. 7, 14):	Ps. Clem. *Hom.* 7, 7, 2, Rehm p. 119, 21:
τί στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ... καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ διοδεύοντες αὐτήν.	*ἡ δὲ τῶν σῳζομένων στενὴ σῴζουσα δὲ.. τοὺς διαπορευθέντας.*
Hom. 16, 7, III, p. 88, 7 (L. 18, 7):	Ps. Clem. *Hom.* 17, 5, 4, Rehm p. 231, 11:
πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν βοώντων πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας; L. 18, 7 *ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν βοώντων αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.*	*πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν βοώντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός;*
Hom. 16, 3, III, p. 83, 6:	Ps. Clem. *Hom.* 11, 26, 2, Rehm p. 167, 4:
ἐὰν μή τις ἀναγεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. J. 3, 3: *ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.*	*ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε ..., οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

The last case is the most interesting. This passage is often adduced as a proof for the fact that the authors of the *Clementine*

writings and its sources were familiar with the Fourth Gospel. And there is hardly any other indication to show this to be the case. But is that so? Is it not more probable that a writing that has certain affiliations with the Jewish Christianity of Syria did *not* quote the Fourth Gospel? In that case the passage on rebirth in the *Clementines* and in Macarius would be a parallel to John III, 3, with a primitive ring. In our days Bent Noack and C. H. Dodd have tried to show that the author of the Fourth Gospel used an independent tradition and did not have access to our synoptic Gospels. It might be that the "Johannine" passages in the *Clementine writings* confirm this hypothesis.

It is my opinion that the problem of the Gospel tradition in the *Pseudo-Clementines* should be reconsidered in the light of the new material contained in the *Gospel of Thomas* and the new *Homilies* of Macarius. It is not enough to state emphatically that these quotations depend on the four canonical Gospels only and to dismiss other parallels as sheer coincidence. Nor should we argue that by studying these parallels we revive the ideas of the Tübingen school. That is not sober, scholarly reasoning. Moreover, who is afraid of Ferdinand Christian Baur?

We have tried to show that the so-called Macarius knew and used the *Gospel of Thomas* and moreover shows some acquaintance with the *Diatessaron* and the Gospel tradition that lies behind the *Pseudo-Clementine writings*. This is not surprising in an author who is supposed to be of Mesopotamian origin. Our finding may have some bearing on a much debated problem, namely the relation between the *De Instituto Christiano* of Gregory of Nyssa and the *Great Letter* of Macarius.

Werner Jaeger published the complete text of the *De Instituto Christiano* and tried to show that Macarius leaned heavily on Gregory.[7]

Recently, however, R. Staats has criticised Jaeger's opinion and affirmed that on the contrary Gregory depended upon Macarius.[8]

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[7] W. Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature, Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*, Leiden, 1954.

[8] *Der Traktat Gregors von Nyssa "De Instituto Christiano" und der Grosse Brief Symeons*, Studia Theologica, 17, 2, 1963, pp. 120–128.

This is a very delicate problem. Gregory is a saint, a Father of the Church and even a doctor of the Church. Is it conceivable that such a man drew on the much decried "Aftermystik" of the Messalian heretic Macarius? This is a problem which should not be solved by some sweeping statements.

Mr Staats did not see that the *Great Letter* of Macarius did contain allusions to the *Gospel of Thomas* and some parallels to the *Pseudo-Clementine writings*. There is, however, no doubt that this is the case.

We find in the *Great Letter* a more or less clear allusion to the *Gospel of Thomas*, which does not prove very much for the priority of Macarius:

Great Letter, Jaeger p. 291, 7:	l. 2, Oxy P 654, 2:
ἀναπανόμενοι συμβασιλεύσομεν	*(θαμ)βηθεὶς βασιλεύσῃ κα(ὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα)ήσεται*

There is even one parallel which at first sight might seem to show that Macarius used Gregory and corrected his quotation from the Gospel because he had the wording of Thomas in his mind:

Gr. L., Jaeger p. 263, 17:	Greg. *De Inst.*, Jaeger p. 74, 1:
ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου πλύνων	*ἢ τοῖς τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος τὸ ἐκτὸς περικαθαίρουσιν*

And yet this problem is rather complicated. The use of the verb *πλύνειν* is in agreement with the *Gospel of Thomas*, l. 89, but also with the *Diatessaron of Tatian* and the *Liber Graduum*: and I am not so sure that in this case the *Liber Graduum* is based on the *Diatessaron*, because it offers us a very peculiar form of the saying: *interius ut exterius lavemus et extergamus et exterius ut interius.*

Could it not be then that the *Liber Graduum* here offers a quotation from a lost Gospel, the *Gospel of the Hebrews* for instance, whose parallelism is responsible for the strange abridged form of the *Gospel of Thomas*. And could not Macarius have taken the variant *πλύνων* from the *Diatessaron*?[9]

[9] *Diatessaron Persiano*, ed. Messina, p. 113, 27: Voi, o farisei, *lavate* l'esterno del bicchiere e della bombola (cf. p. 269, 21: *lavate*).
Liège Diatessaron, ed. Plooy, p. 215, 11: ghi phariseuse ghi *duaet* eñ suvert harde degerlyc dat butenste van den nappe eñ van den cadine.
Diatessaron Veneto, ed. Vaccari, p. 73, 21: Voi Farisei mo *lavate* le scudelle e i calisi defora.
Diatessaron Arabe, ed. Marmardji, p. 193, 14: Vous donc, les séparés, vous *lavez* le dehors de la coupe et du plat.

But quite apart from that, Gregory might have adapted the unfamiliar *πλύνων* to the reading of the Greek text of the New Testament to which he was accustomed.

There are other cases, however, which have more weight. Macarius likes to underline that only the wise virgins of the parable, the true, spiritually minded ascetics, can enter the bridal chamber. And in these cases he prefers to speak about *νυμφών* in stead of the *γάμοι* of the canonical text, Mt. XXV, 10.

Gr. L., Jaeger p. 275, 6:
τοῦ πνευματικοῦ τῆς βασιλείας νυμφῶνος ἀπεκλείσθησαν.

De Inst., Jaeger p. 83, 11:
τοῦ ἄνω νυμφῶνος τὰς ἀθλίας ἀπέκλεισεν.

This is understandable for a Syrian because the variant was known to Ephrem [10] and the *Liber Graduum*.[11] Moreover it is typical for Macarius.[12]

We now know that, according to the *Gospel of Thomas*, l. 75, "the solitary are the ones who will enter the *bridal chamber*", which means that only those Christians, who have renounced marriage and lead a poor, wandering, ascetic life are the "virgins" about whom the parable speaks. So we find the same interpretation, an encratitic interpretation, of the parable and probably the same variant in Macarius and the *Gospel of Thomas*. Gregory, however, in his *De Instituto Christiano* has the same variant.

Even more important is a common variant in Luke XVIII, 7:

Gr. L., Jaeger p. 248, 1:
Ἴδετε τί λέγει ὁ ἄδικος κριτής· πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν βοώντων πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τάχει.
(cf. *L.* 18, 6–8).

De Inst., Jaeger 58, 1:
Ἴδετε τί λέγει ὁ ἄδικος κριτής. πόσῳ μᾶλλον ποιήσει ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν βοώντων πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τάχει.

Again, we find in Gregory and in Macarius the curious variant of Mt. VII, 14:

Gr. L., Jaeger p. 257, 18.
τῇ στενῇ ὁδῷ καὶ τεθλιμμένῃ ὁδευέτω
(cf. Mt. 7, 14).

De Inst., Jaeger p. 68, 9:
τὴν τεθλιμμένην ὁδὸν βαδίζων

[10] A. Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte*, Leipzig, 1893–1894, p. 443.

[11] Kmosko, p. 514: haec via praeceptorum magnorum ad *thalamum* eius intrat.

[12] Resch, *o.c.*, pp. 303–304.

Is it conceivable that Gregory should have used these variants (which can also be found in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, as we saw before), if he had not the *Great Letter* of Macarius before him?

These are questions which should be considered seriously. I do not pretend that these arguments in themselves are decisive. The point I wish to make is that we have to consider the Gospel tradition of Macarius, so dependent upon the *Gospel of Thomas* and so near to the *Pseudo-Clementine writings*, if we want to make out whether or not Gregory of Nyssa is dependent upon Macarius.

Even if the first alternative should prove to be preferable, this would not be so shocking as it is sometimes supposed to be. Even if Macarius should be shown to be a Messalian, it is not so exceptional for an orthodox author to be influenced by a heretic. Moreover we should keep in mind that heresy is a dogmatic category, not a useful tool for historical research.

From the historical point of view the Messalians, whether or not they still belonged to the Church in the time of Macarius, are a last revival of the archaic and very impressive Syrian spirituality which had existed within Aramaic Christendom for centuries.

And this brings me to my last point. I am not in the least astonished that Macarius used the *Gospel of Thomas*, because so many Syrian writers before him had done the same.

H.-Ch. Puech has shown this to be the case with the *Acts of Thomas*, written about 225 A.D., probably in Edessa [13]; A. Guillaumont has proved the same for the *Liber Graduum*, possibly written about 350 A.D. somewhere in Eastern Syria.[14] In fact it seems probable that the *Gospel of Thomas* was written in Edessa about 140 A.D.

Until now it does not seem probable that "Thomas" was a source for Ephrem, Aphraates or the *Didascalia*. And this perhaps might show that the *Gospel of Thomas* was popular only in a very special sector of Syrian Christianity, that sector which proclaimed a profound and astonishing encratism. This is done in the *Acts of*

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[13] *Une collection de paroles de Jésus récemment retrouvée, L'Evangile selon Thomas*, Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, (Institut de France), Séance du 24 mai 1957, p. 155.

[14] *Νηστεύειν τὸν κόσμον*, Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, T. LXI, 1962, pp. 15–23.

Thomas and the *Liber Graduum*, writings, which certainly are not gnostic, but combine the Christian message of celibacy with a theology of Paradise regained: Adam, complete and pure, fell into sexuality by eating the forbidden fruit, but Christ restored the original purity and therefore abolished marriage. This conception, which is the real theology of the *Gospel of Thomas*, is developed in greater detail in the *Liber Graduum*. Macarius is the inheritor of this rich spirituality. His basic idea is that man should return to the heavenly Paradise whence he came (*Hom.* 37, 7). Again and again he speaks about the Holy Ghost as a *Mother*; this, of course, is common among many Syrians, but can also be found in the *Gospel of Thomas*, l. 101: "My true Mother gave me Life". He conceives the Christian life as a wandering life, as in the *Acts of Thomas* (c. 145) and the *Gospel of Thomas*, l. 42: "become passers-by = become wanderers". For Macarius the aim of Christian asceticism is to become one, as God is one; and this is, in the *Gospel of Thomas*, the overtone of the word "monachos".[15] And last but not least, Macarius is aware of the fact that eschatology has been realised here and now and that this has implications for marriage and possessions. In this he is a worthy successor of the Syrian, encratitic "Thomas".

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[15] M. Harl, *A propos des Λόγια de Jésus ; le sens du mot μοναχός*, Revue des Etudes Grecques, LXXIII, 1960, pp. 464–474.
A. F. J. Klijn, *The "Single one" in the Gospel of Thomas*, Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXI, 1962, pp. 271–278.

Vigiliae Christianae 18 (1964) 236—256; *North-Holland Publishing Co.*

REVIEWS

Paul Aubin, s.j., *Le problème de la "conversion". Etude sur un terme commun à l'hellénisme et au christianisme des trois premiers siècles* (Théologie Historique 1). Paris, Bauchesne, 1963. Pp. 236. Pr. Fr. 20.—.

Father Aubin's book opens the new series "Théologie Historique", a continuation of the "Bibliothèque de Théologie Historique" and the "Etudes de Théologie Historique", published by the professors of theology in the Institut Catholique, under the editorship of Jean Daniélou.

Aubin bases his study upon an examination of the meanings of the verb *ἐπιστρέφειν* and the derivative noun *ἐπιστροφή*. Having reviewed the meanings in normal usage, the writer examines the development of the terms in the Septuagint, in ancient philosophy before Plotinus, in the New Testament and early Christian and Gnostic literature, and finally in Plotinus. The index gives a very useful list of instances of the terms.

In his careful examination of the texts Aubin, unfortunately, does not verify the extent to which the terms have become technical in a particular sense. An important indication of this development is the rise of the noun *ἐπιστροφή* alongside the verb. Aubin, however, considers this detail to have no bearing upon his research (p. 8, note 1) and employs the abbreviation E.- ("le mot E.-", "le terme E.-") for both the verb and the noun. Moreover, he speaks of "conversion" even when the Greek employs the verb only. In this manner he gives the impression that he is always dealing with technical meanings and this makes his argument difficult to follow.

To give but one example: at the end of the world he who is in the field must flee without turning back to take his mantle: *ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω ὀπίσω* Matt. 24. 18, cf. Mark 13. 16, Luke 17. 31. In this connection Luke recalls Lot's wife, who looked back: *ἐπέβλεψεν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω* Gen. 19. 26. Here the verb *ἐπιστρέφεσθαι* has its ordinary meaning "to turn back". It may be that Aubin, too, means no more than this, but when he now finds a "mise en garde contre la « conversion en arrière »" (p. 70), he suggests the rise of a new, technical meaning, perhaps a "relapse into evil", "apostasy". Such a meaning might have developed from the texts quoted, but this would first have to be examined.

A glance at the index shows that the noun constantly appears alongside the verb both in later philosophy and in the more educated Christian and Gnostic authors. In these milieus the terms acquire strictly technical meanings, and the inconvenience referred to is therefore absent in the main part of the book. Here the writer

examines with competence the concept of conversion among Christian thinkers and pagan philosophers.

Breda, Beukenlaan 1 J. YSEBAERT

Kurt Aland, *Über den Glaubenswechsel in der Geschichte des Christentums* (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann, 5. Heft). Berlin, Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1961. 147 S.

Das Buch ist entstanden aus den Haskell-Lectures, die der Autor auf Einladung der Universität Chicago in 1959 gehalten hat. Die ersten drei Kapitel handeln vom Glaubenswechsel zur Zeit der Alten Kirche, über Glaubenswechsel aus politischen Gründen und über Glaubenswechsel unter dem Einfluss von Gewalt – die beiden letzten Titel mit einem Fragezeichen versehen. Es wird hier somit das gleiche Gebiet betritten, das A. D. Nock in seinem schönen Buch *Conversion. The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (1933) so fruchtbar bearbeitet hat, es sei denn, dass der Schwerpunkt bei Nock weniger im Christentum als in der Umwelt des jungen Christentums fällt. In der Bibliographie, S. 140, wäre das Buch von G. Bardy, *La conversion au Christianisme durant les premiers siècles* (Paris 1949), noch zu erwähnen gewesen. Nach dem N.T. befasst Aland sich vorerst mit dem Octavius des Minucius Felix und mit Justin, Tatian und Cyprian um zu zeigen, wie ihre Glaubenswechsel viel mehr als nur intellektuelle Bedeutung gehabt haben müssen, da sie ja auch immer ein Endstadium eines Lebenskampfes waren. Aland geht, bei allen seinen ganz positiven, wohl fundierten Beurteilungen, sehr umsichtig vor. Er deutet die „wahre Philosophie", die die Christen gefunden hatten, und die im Unterschied von allen antiken Religionssystemen auf einer Bewegung nicht von unten nach oben, vom Menschen nach Gott, sondern umgekehrt von Gott zum Menschen, also von oben nach unten, beruht, mit Recht als etwas durchaus Neues, das nicht nur den ganzen Menschen anspricht, so dass kein Bereich seines Wesens ausgeschlossen bleibt, sondern seine Fragen auch tiefer einsetzt, und in seinen Antworten weiter greift als die der Philosophen der Zeit (S. 35). Das Urteil über die Bekehrung Konstantins, die Aland eigentlich schon vor 312 ansetzt, klingt, wie es zu erwarten war, ganz anders als bei Burckhardt und Schwartz. Merkwürdigerweise werden hier die Arbeiten von H. Dörries nicht erwähnt. Gründlich analysierend und reichlich nuanciert wird die Geschichte der Christianisierung der germanischen Völker behandelt. Aland warnt in beiden Fällen gegen eine Geschichtsschreibung, die von Chlodwig und Konstantin moderne Menschen macht und nicht genügend versteht sich von der eigenen Zeit zu lösen und den Abstand der Jahrhunderte zu überwinden (S. 51). Es ist m.E. ganz mit Recht, dass von Aland die cyprianische

Schrift Ad Donatum als Bekehrungsgeschichte ernst genommen wird. Zwei Sachen aber dürften hier noch ins Licht gerückt werden. Erstens ist zu betonen, dass hier der Gedanke: *hoc sis tantum quod esse coepisti* (Ad Don. v) in vielen Wendungen wiederkehrt und also eine Nuancierung des Endstadiums andeutet oder wenigstens das Bewusstsein eines neuen Anfangs. Zweitens wäre mehr Nachdruck zu legen auf das Problem der in den übrigen Schriften Cyprians fortwährend erwähnten *lapsi*, die den Glauben vom Christentum ab unter Zwang eben so leicht zu wechseln scheinen als sie später ohne jeglichen Zwang wieder zum Christentum kommen. Eine Lösung für diese überraschende Erscheinung ist noch kaum versucht worden. — Die übrigen drei Kapitel gehören der neuen Geschichte an und werden von ganz exakten statistischen Übersichten unterstützt. Der Autor zeigt sich in diesem weitblickenden Buch wieder als den berufenen Historiker, dem ein unabhängiges Urteil eigen ist.

Leiden, Rapenburg 40 J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink

Manlio Simonetti, *Note su antichi commenti alle Benedizioni dei Patriarchi*. Estratto dagli «Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero», vol. XXVIII, 1960. Università di Cagliari. Pp. 71.

Cette contribution à l'histoire de l'exégèse des «bénédictions» de Jacob s'occupe principalement du Traîté d'Hippolyte sur le sujet, réédité en 1954 dans la Patrologia Orientalis (tôme 27). Pour déterminer la partie originelle de cet auteur, M. Simonetti donne une esquisse de la tradition antérieure, dans laquelle, déjà, l'interprétation typologique ne se limitait plus à la seule bénédiction de Juda. Dans les Testaments des Douze Patriarches, par exemple, et chez Tertullien on trouve des interprétations typologiques des bénédictions de Lévi et Siméon, de Dan, Joseph et Benjamin semblables à celles d'Hippolyte. Il faudra se représenter le fonds commun comme une tradition orale (p. 16). D'une comparaison, ensuite, avec les fragments conservés dans les chaînes sous le même nom d'Hippolyte, et rassemblés par Achelis (1897), il ressort pour M. Simonetti, que les éléments communs sont traditionels. Donc, on ne pourra pas, avec Achelis, parler de «fragments authentiques» d'Hippolyte. Pour finir son enquête sur cette exégèse typologique, l'auteur étudie les influences des deux commentaires. Le Traîté a été utilisé par Eusèbe, Grégoire d'Elvire (c'est à dire le *Tractatus Origenis* VI), Ambroise (*De patriarchis*) et, indirectement peut-être, par Ephraem; les fragments par Procope, Théodorète, Rufin (*De benedictionibus patriarcharum*, réédité en 1961 par M. Simonetti), aussi de même par Grégoire d'Elvire et Ambroise, qui auraient lu une compilation des deux ouvrages inconnue de nous. Le troisième chapitre de cette communication donne une vue d'ensemble des

exégèses «littérales» de Gen. 49, qui – comme ailleurs – offrent tout de même quelques applications «spirituelles» des oracles. C'est le cas notamment de Théodorète. En conclusion de ses notes sur l'exégèse littérale l'auteur profite de l'édition récente des commentaires d'Ephraem pour donner un aperçu de l'interprétation bien originale et indépendente du grand Syrien.

C'est une étude riche et bien documentée que l'on ne consultera pas sans fruit. En bonne méthode critique, l'auteur donne ses opinions sur les rapports entre les commentateurs avec toutes sortes de réserves: nos connaissances dans ce domaine sont bien fragmentaires.

Deux remarques: *a*) Outre les sources juives citées par M. Simonetti, d'autres pourraient être utiles. Par exemple: comme pour Tertullien et Hippolyte Siméon et Lévi symbolisent les scribes et les pharisiens, le Targoum de Jérusalem sur Gen. 49:7 fait mention des scribes et de l'enseignement religieux.

b) L'auteur suppose que Théodorète ait utilisé les fragments édités par Achelis (p. 35). Or, l'interprétation du «petit de l'ânon» de Gen. 49:11 comme symbolisant les chrétiens issus des païens se trouve chez Justin, *Dialogue* 53:1, 4 (mais cf. *Apologie* 32:6), et sera retenu comme traditionel dans les sources plus récentes. En ce cas, les détails de l'exégèse de Théodorète et de la chaîne, bien différents, nous empêchent d'accepter le rapport entre Théodorète et «Hippolyte». Pourtant, M. Simonetti peut avoir raison en se méfiant ici du témoignage de Justin: il est bien probable que Théodorète ait joué un certain rôle dans la tradition du corpus des œuvres de Justin, et du reste cette partie du Dialogue a tout l'air d'avoir été retouchée.

Warmond, Huys te Warmont J. Smit Sibinga

M. Steiner, *La tentation de Jésus dans l'interprétation patristique de Saint Justin à Origène* (Études Bibliques). Paris, Librairie Lecoffre, J. Gabalda et Cie, 1962. Pp. 232. Pr. Fr. 29.–.

On est déjà fort bien renseigné sur l'interprétation de la péricope Matth. 4:1–11. Erich Fascher, *Jesus und der Satan*, Halle 1949, a fait l'enquête des exégèses modernes depuis Reimarus, et, après lui, Klaus-Peter Köppen, *Die Auslegung der Versuchungsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Alten Kirche*, Tübingen 1961, s'est proposé de rassembler les opinions des Pères à ce sujet – sans d'ailleurs négliger les auteurs plus récents. Et voilà une étude qui s'occupe exclusivement de la période la plus ancienne: Justin, le roman Pseudo-Clémentin, les Extraits de Théodote («Premières allusions»), Irénée et Tertullien, et encore Clément d'Alexandrie et Origène. Un résumé sur «les thèmes essentiels de l'interprétation de la tentation aux II^{e} et III^{e} siècles» achève cette étude.

Le petit livre de Köppen est d'une présentation concentrée et sobre, d'un contenu riche et varié. Le terrain de M. Steiner est plus restreint, et pour les auteurs qu'il discute il a su amplifier les textes et allusions relatifs à la tentation de Jésus. Pourtant l'utilité de son livre est réduite par son caractère confus, par la qualité parfois douteuse des traductions et des paraphrases, ainsi que par une préoccupation excessive de certaines idées théologiques chères à l'auteur: la typologie Adam — le Christ, la continuité de l'histoire du salut dans les deux Alliances, la relecture chrétienne de l'Ancien Testament, etc. La thèse générale de l'auteur est que les Pères — comme déjà les évangélistes — ont envisagé la tentation du Seigneur surtout à la lumière de ces thèmes.

Même si on ne peut affirmer que la typologie est essentiellement ou spécifiquement chrétienne et non plus que la pensée chrétienne n'a pu se passer de cette manière de voir l'histoire, on admettra tout de même que ce sont des thèmes d'une importance évidente pour la période dont s'occupe M. Steiner. Mais il me semble que M. Steiner a tendance à exagérer leur portée sur les passages concrets, comme il exagère l'importance de son sujet pour quelques-uns des auteurs étudiés. Dans son enthousiasme, il a négligé l'analyse et la comparaison philologiques des textes, du vocabulaire, etc. Par exemple, dans le premier passage que M. Steiner discute, Justin, *Dialogue* 103:6, «Justin n'applique pas . . . au Christ le terme . . . de second Adam.» Malgré cela M. Steiner lui prête sa propre interprétation de la réponse «Retire-toi, Satan . . .»: «l'attitude de soumission et d'adoration qu'Adam n'avait su adopter . . .»; «. . . là où le premier Adam a succombé par sa désobéissance, le second triomphe par sa soumission à Dieu» (p. 14). Justin n'en dit rien dans sa brève remarque sur le passage Matth. 4:3–10 qu'il a cité, et qui a été tronqué par un copiste. Chez Irénée également, M. Steiner insiste sur l'attitude spirituelle du Christ dans la tentation (p. 62). Il introduit des «attitudes religieuses» dans sa traduction de *Adv. Haer.* V xxi:3 (p. 63). Pourtant, en supposant qu'Irénée a connu Rom. 5:19, les allusions à l'obéissance de Jésus sont assez rares dans le passage considéré, et c'est plutôt ce qu'il faudrait expliquer. Encore, chez Tertullien, dans le *De Ieiunio*, 8:2, la typologie Adam-Christ que l'auteur y trouve (p. 91), dépend largement du seul mot *rursus*. Ce mot s'explique par l'énumération des arguments que Tertullien tire du Nouveau Testament: in limine euangelii . . . mox . . . rursus . . . exinde . . . etiam . . . denique. «Exinde», c'est pour M. Steiner «par là même» — mais Tertullien se réfère à Matth. 6:16–18; «denique» devient «précisément».

Il apparaît qu'on pourrait plus se fier aux longs chapitres consacrés par l'auteur aux Alexandrins. Néanmoins, une relecture critique des textes sera indispensable.

Warmond, Huys te Warmont J. Smit Sibinga

G. Gruber, *ΖΩΗ. Wesen, Stufen und Mitteilung des wahren Lebens bei Origenes* (Münchener Theologische Studien, II. Systematische Abteilung, Bnd 23). München, Max Hüber Verlag, 1962. XXIV, 342 S.

Diese Arbeit stellt uns wiederum klar vor Augen wie sehr der Geist des Origenes von der hl. Schrift erfüllt und durch die Philosophie gebildet ist. Der Begriff „Leben" ist nach Origenes identisch mit Christus der gesagt hat: „Ich bin das Leben"; Er ist das Leben selbst, *αὐτοζωή*, während der Vater, der *πηγὴ ζωῆς* ist, über dem Leben steht. Wir sind lebend insofern wir teilhaben an Ihm, der das Leben ist: *μετέχοντες ζωῆς*. Insofern wir nicht an Christus teilhaben sind wir tot: *νεκροί*.

Im ersten Hauptteil seiner Untersuchung stellt der Verfasser diese vier Stufen des Lebens bei Origenes fest, wobei eine reiche Zahl von einschlägigen Texten angeführt wird. Der philosophische Hintergrund wird zunächst in den Anmerkungen, die viele interessante Angaben enthalten, angedeutet.

In Bezug auf den oben kurz dargestellten Hauptgedanken des Systems nimmt der Verfasser Numenios, und mehr im allgemeinen den mittleren Platonismus, als Quelle für Origenes an, obwohl er in einigen Anmerkungen auch Übereinstimmungen mit Plotin erwähnt. Nun ist aber die Übereinstimmung mit Plotin m.E. grösser als mit Numenios: Plotin sagt, dass die höchste Hypostase zwar das Leben gibt, aber selbst *ἐπέκεινα τῆς ζωῆς* ist (*Enn.* VI 7, 17, 10; vgl. Anm. 46, S. 107), und Origenes nennt den Vater *πηγὴ ζωῆς*, während in der ersten von Numenios angenommenen Hypostase, die er den ersten *νοῦς* nennt, das *ἐπέκεινα*-Element fehlt. Lässt sich hier vielleicht der Einfluss des gemeinsamen Lehrmeisters des Origenes und Plotin, Ammonios Sakkas, erkennen? In diesem Zusammenhang ist noch besonders hinzuweisen auf die verdienstvolle Abhandlung des niederländischen klassischen Philologen K. H. E. de Jong, *Plotinus of Ammonius Saccas*, Leiden 1941, und auf die wichtige Abhandlung von H. Langerbeck, *The Philosophy of Ammonius Saccas and the Connection of Aristotelian and Christian Elements therein*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77 (1957) 67–74 (*Festschrift David Ross*). Vgl. aber dazu die kritische Erörterung der Annahme Cadious bei J. Daniélou, *Origène*, Paris 1948, S. 88–89. Auch wäre wenigstens ein Hinweis auf die überragende Bedeutung des *ζωή*-Begriffs im System des Porphyrios (vgl. dazu zum Beispiel R. Beutler, Art. *Porphyrios*, P.W. XXII Kol. 304) am Platze gewesen.

Im zweiten Hauptteil wird der Zusammenhang der Stufen dargestellt und gezeigt wie das wahre Leben in Christus empfangen wird. Schwierige Probleme werden hier erörtert: die metaphysische Struktur des Lebens; das wahre Leben als Geistverbindung und als Christusverbindung. Ein spezielles Kapitel widmet der Verfasser

dem Problem der *ἐπίνοιαι* Christi; das sind die vielen verschiedenen Namen, womit der Sohn Gottes angedeutet wird, und wovon der Name „Leben" einer ist. Es handelt sich hier für Origenes um die vielen Aspekte, worunter der Logos sich als Erlöser zeigt, je nach dem Grad der Vollkommenheit einer Seele. Diese Namen sind gerade darum von grosser Bedeutung in dem theologischen System des Origenes. Obwohl der Verfasser sich dessen sicher bewusst ist, hat er diese *ἐπίνοιαι* doch zuviel in den Sohn Gottes selbst gelegt. Sonst lässt es sich schwer verstehen, dass er am Ende des Kapitels spricht von der „Personalität der Epinoiai" (S. 265) und von einem „persönlichen Subsistieren der Beinamen Christi" (S. 267). Damit hat er m.E. Origenes' Ideen Gewalt angetan.

Der Verfasser hat mit der Erörterung eines im System des Origenes so zentralen Themas eine besonders schwere Aufgabe auf sich genommen. Jeder, der das Werk des Origenes auch nur einigermassen kennt, weiss wie viele Schwierigkeiten es bietet; das wird im Schlusskapitel: „Logos, Leben, Licht" noch einmal besonders deutlich.

Wenn wir also dem Verfasser nicht in allen Einzelheiten beipflichten können, so erkennen wir demgegenüber gern den grossen Wert der Mehrzahl seiner Interpretationen an, wodurch sein Buch einen wichtigen Fortschritt in der Erforschung des Systems des Origenes bedeutet.

Rotterdam, Rosaliastraat 4 J. C. M. VAN WINDEN O.F.M.

Antoine Guillaumont, *Les 'Képhalaia Gnostica' d'Evagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'Origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens* (Patristica Sorbonensia, 5). Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1962. 368 S.

Keiner war besser imstande, dieses Buch zu schreiben, als der Herausgeber von *Les Six Centuries des 'Képhalaia Gnostica' d'Evagre le Pontique* (Paris 1958). In der Einleitung dieser Textausgabe (S. 5) wird hervorgehoben, dass das neu entdeckte Manuskript British Museum Add. 17 167 die ursprüngliche syrische Übersetzung der Kephalaia ist. Der von W. Frankenberg in 1912 herausgegebene Text enthält eine Version, die von Origenismen gesäubert war (vgl. dazu auch A. und C. Guillaumont, *Le texte véritable des 'Gnostica' d'Evagre le Pontique*, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions 142 (1948), S. 156–205). Es war zu erwarten, dass dieses neue Manuskript eine andere Sicht von der Figur des Euagrius darbieten würde.

Das Buch besteht aus zwei Hauptteilen: I. "Euagrius und der Origenismus im Urteil der Griechen", II. "Euagrius und der Streit der Origenisten in Syrien"; ein einführendes Kapitel über den Inhalt der *Kephalaia* geht voran. Dieses Werk zeigt die Auffassungen, die im vierten Jahrhundert unter den Nitrischen Mönchen

in Ägypten herrschten. Es besteht aus sechs Kapiteln, von denen jedes eine Hundertzahl von Paragraphen umfassen sollte; wegen einer gewissen Zahlensymbolik ist diese Zahl aber auf neunzig beschränkt. Schon im Altertum galten die Kephalaia als schwierig, weil sie ja in einer absichtlich verschleierten Form redigiert waren, die ihnen den Charakter der biblischen Sprüche verlieh. Die Hauptlinien des Systems sind folgende: Aus der uranfänglichen Einheit gehen *λογικοί* hervor, die in einer *κίνησις* sich vom Vater abwenden. Dies bedeutet einen Abfall vom Vater. Statt der Einheit entsteht eine Vielheit höherer und niederer Wesen. Durch eine zweite Schöpfung werden die *λογικοί* an die Materie gebunden, was zugleich eine Verurteilung ist; sie können aber zu einer sensiblen Betrachtung kommen, auf der die höhere Betrachtung, d.h. die reine Erkenntnis der Einheit, sich erheben kann. Christus ist auch einer der *λογικοί*, hat sich aber nicht von der Einheit abgewendet, und ist daher imstande, die anderen *λογικοί* zu retten. Am Ende, in der *ἀποκατάστασις*, kehren alle *λογικοί*, auch die an Dämonen gebundenen, wieder zur Einheit zurück.

Teil I, Kapitel I: Euagrius und die Origenisten seiner Zeit.

In der Schule der Kappadokier Basilius und Gregor von Nazianz, kam Euagrius schon in Kontakt mit dem Origenismus. Bei seinem Aufenthalt in Palästina wurde dieser Kontakt durch seinen Verkehr mit Rufin und Melanie der Alten vertieft. Seit 383 wohnte er im Mekka der Mönche, in der Nitrischen Wüste, wo schon vor seiner Ankunft der Einfluss des Origenes stark war. Diese Nitrischen Mönche wiesen mit Origenes die Auferstehung des Fleisches ab. Gegenüber der Mehrheit der Mönche (die Anthropomorphisten) behaupteten sie die Unvorstellbarkeit Gottes. Sie wurden von Theophilus, Patriarch von Alexandrien, bekämpft. Diese "langen Brüder" wurden von Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel freundlich empfangen. Hieronymus beschuldigt Euagrius des Pelagianismus, während Rufin ihn in seiner Historia Monachorum sehr preist. Der Einfluss des Euagrius zeigt sich in der Historia Lausiaca des Palladius und bei Cassianus. Männer wie Cassianus übernehmen das Erbe des Euagrius ohne ihn zu nennen.

Im zweiten Kapitel wird beschrieben, was sich von den "Kephalaia Gnostica" und von Origenes in den Schriften des Epiphanius, des Hieronymus und des Theophilus findet. Im Panarion des Epiphanius wird Origenes wegen seiner subordinatianischen Christologie als ein Vorläufer des Arius betrachtet, wobei auch dessen Auffassung von der *ἀποκατάστασις διαβολοῦ* bekämpft wird. Die Kephalaia des Euagrius sind dem Origenismus sehr verwandt. Euagrius liebt den Allegorismus in der Exegese. Er lehrt die Präexistenz der Seelen; freilich werden sie nach ihm erst zu "Seelen", wenn der Geist mit einem Körper umkleidet wird

(die zweifache Schöpfung). Zu verschiedenen Geistern gehören auch verschiedene Körper. Bisweilen unterscheidet sich Euagrius von dem, was die antiorigenistischen Quellen bekämpfen. Der Körper ist für ihn kein Gefängnis, sondern eine Möglichkeit für das Denken, um zur reinen Schau der Einheit wiederzukehren. In der Christologie macht Euagrius einen Unterschied zwischen dem Sohn oder Logos und Christus; nur hinsichtlich des letzteren ist er Subordinatianist. Im grossen ganzen stimmen die Kephalaia aber mit dem Bild überein, das die Bekämpfer vom Origenismus zeichnen. Sie sind also eine gute Quelle.

Kapitel III: Euagrius und der Origenistenkampf des sechsten Jahrhunderts.

Das Edikt des Justinianus von 543 hatte den Origenismus des Origenes verurteilt. Auf der fünften ökumenischen Synode im Jahre 553 richtete man sich jedoch mehr gegen Euagrius als gegen Origenes. Aus dem neuentdeckten Manuskript der Kephalaia (S 2) geht nun hervor, dass die Anathemata von 553 mit der Lehre des Euagrius übereinstimmen. Diese Feststellung ist eines der wichtigsten Ergebnisse der vorliegenden Untersuchung. Aus allen Daten wird es deutlich, dass im sechsten Jahrhundert der Origenismus vornehmlich in der von Euagrius vertretenen Form Einfluss ausgeübt hat.

Im zweiten Teil untersucht der Verfasser, wie die Kephalaia im theologischen Denken weiterlebten.

Kapitel I: Die Syrer und der Origenismus.

Im Kampf der Monophysiten und der Nestorianer tut sich etwas recht Merkwürdiges vor. Die Monophysiten beschuldigen die antiochenische Schule des Diophysismus und des Diotheletismus (Theodor von Mopsuestia), welche sie als Origenismus betrachten, weil diese Schule einen Unterschied zwischen Logos und Christus macht. Die Nestorianer dagegen weisen die Monophysiten wegen ihres Origenismus ab! Origenes war nach ihnen Monophysit, weil in seiner Lehre die menschliche Natur Christi von der göttlichen verschlungen wurde. Die beiden syrischen Gruppen wiesen also die Lehre des Origenes ab. Wie ist es dann aber zu erklären, dass sein Anhänger und Gesinnungsgenosse Euagrius in Syrien zu hoher Ehre gelangte?

Auf diese Frage wird in den drei letzten Kapiteln eine Antwort gegeben. Guillaumont vergleicht die beiden Versionen S 1 (Frankenbergs Text) und S 2 (Br. Mus. Add. 17 167) miteinander. Dazu untersucht er, wie Babai der Grosse und Stephan Bar Sudaili die Werke des Euagrius kommentiert haben. S 2 muss der bessere Text sein, schon deshalb, weil er mit dem übereinstimmt, was in Zitaten noch vom griechischen Text übrig geblieben ist. S 1 war eine von Origenismen gereinigte Übersetzung, wahrscheinlich von der Hand

des Philoxenes von Mabbug. Dieser gereinigte Text wird wohl der Grund gewesen sein, warum Euagrius bei den Syrern so hoch gepriesen wurde. S 2 wurde möglicherweise von Serge von Reschaina angefertigt; dieser bessere Text wurde nun aber von den Anti-origenisten für eine Fälschung gehalten! Euagrius' Kommentator Babai, der natürlich von S 1 ausgeht, vollbringt das Künststück, den rechtgläubigen Verfasser der Kephalaia zu einem mutigen Bekämpfer des Origenes zu machen. Das "Buch des Heiligen Hierotheus" muss dem Stephan Bar Sudaili zugeschrieben werden. Er hat Überlieferungen aus dem Manuskript S 2 übernommen; dabei zeigt es sich, dass er in seinem Origenismus noch konsequenter ist als Euagrius selbst, denn bei Euagrius transzendiert Gott noch immer die Vernunft, auch bei der *ἀποκατάστασις*, während es bei Stephan eine völlige Verschmelzung zwischen Gott und menschlichem Geist gibt.

In der Geschichte der Kirche hat Euagrius die grösste Würdigung nicht seiner Metaphysik wegen gefunden, sondern wegen seiner Anweisungen für die Praxis des Mönchslebens, obgleich diese nicht ohne den lehrhaften Hintergrund zu begreifen sind.

Wir können dem Verfasser nur dankbar sein für dieses fesselnd geschriebene Buch, das sich durch genaues Quellenstudium auszeichnet und manches von der umstrittenen Figur des Euagrius von Pontus aufgeklärt hat.

Zum Schluss soll noch ein Punkt näher besprochen werden und zwar der sog. Gnostizismus der Kephalaia. Auf den ersten Blick könnte man meinen, dass der Titel "Kephalaia Gnostica" auf ein gnostisches Werk weist; das ist aber nicht ohne weiteres der Fall: die "Kephalaia Gnostica" verhalten sich zu einer anderen Euagrischen Schrift, dem "Praktikos", wie die "vita contemplativa" zur Praxis der Askese. Es muss aber gesagt werden, dass die Kephalaia eine geistliche Erkenntnis, eine Einsicht in das kosmisch Leben mitteilen wollen, wie es auch in der eigentlichen Gnosis Brauch ist.

Es ist schon eine alte Frage, ob Origenes zu den Gnostikern gerechnet werden kann oder nicht. Hans Jonas gibt bekanntlich eine bejahende Antwort, während andere Forscher, wie Cornélis und Léonard (*La Gnose éternelle*, Paris 1959, S. 72 f.), mehr zurückhaltend sind. Eine Verwandtschaft aber kann nicht geleugnet werden. Da wir eben durch das Buch Guillaumonts jetzt besser informiert sind und da wir daraus erkennen können, dass Euagrius in manchen Hinsichten origenistischer war als Origenes selbst, wäre es wichtig, nochmals die Frage nach dem Zusammenhang zwischen Origenismus und Gnosis zu stellen. Im Rahmen dieser Besprechung können nur einige Punkte kurz angedeutet werden.

Schon im Altertum wurde der Origenismus des Gnostizismus

beschuldigt (Guillaumont, S. 119). Epiphanius verurteilte die Euagrische Lehre als "reine Gnosis" (Guillaumont, S. 113). Guillaumont selbst hebt die Verwandtschaft zwischen Origenismus und Gnostizismus hervor. Beide lehren den Fall der geistigen Wesen in die Materie (S. 185). Der Kommentator des Euagrius, Stephan Bar Sudaili, ist gnostisch beeinflusst (S. 317). Diesen gnostischen Einfluss verdankt er wohl dem Johannes von Apamea. Babai wirft Origenes seine Lehre vor, dass die Geister von Himmel gefallen und an Körper gebunden sind (S. 271). Er setzt Origenismus und Gnosis gleich (S. 288).

Wenn Euagrius die "Einheit" an den Anfang stellt (S. 37), stimmt er in dieser Hinsicht mit Plotin und der Gnosis überein. Diese Monade ist unvorstellbar, sie hat keine Form (Guillaumont, S. 60). Ein gnostischer Text sagt vom unbekannten Gott *(ἄγνωστος θεός)*, dass er "der Formlose" *(-μορφή)* ist (4. Traktat des Codex Jung, 66. 13). Die Einheit besteht aus vielen *λογικοί* oder *νόες* (S. 37, 147). Die Gnosis kennt das Pleroma des Vaters, das aus pneumatischen Wesen besteht. Auch Plotin kennt eine noëtische Vielheit. Das 4. Traktat des Codex Jung (70. 8–10) nennt die Äonen "Geister von Geistern *(νοῦς)*, Wörter von Wörtern *(λόγος)*", usw. 4. Traktat 73. 9: "Jeder der Äonen ist ein Name." Nach der Meinung des Euagrius geht aus der Einheit eine Vielheit von "Namen" *(ὀνόματα)* hervor, die am Ende wieder aufgehoben wird (S. 157). Die *λογικοί* sind Mächte und Tugenden ("puissances, vertus," S. 216). Nach gnostischer Auffassung sind die Äonen "jede seiner Tugenden *(ἀρετή)* und die Kräfte (ġom = *δύναμις)* des Vaters" (4. Traktat, 73. 10). Die *λογικοί* sind reine Geister, erschaffen, um Gott zu erkennen (S. 104). Dem Gnostizismus gemäss ist der Daseinsgrund der Äonen, "dass sie über den Vater denken sollten" (4. Traktat 61.12), "dass sie ihn suchen sollten" (idem 61. 26), "dass sie erkennen sollten, wer er ist" (61. 35) und dass sie "ihm Ehre darbieten" sollten (66. 5). Die *λογικοί* sind unterschieden nach ihren "Stätten" (Guillaumont, S. 107). Im Gnostizismus ist *τόπος* ein Name für Äon (J. E. Ménard, *L'Évangile de Vérité*, Paris 1962, S. 113).

Die Vielheit ist eine niedere Stufe des Seins. Vielheit ist ja auch Verschiedenheit, Endlichkeit und gegenseitige Begrenzung (S. 106). Dieselbe Anschauung haben der Neoplatonismus und der Gnostizismus über den *μερισμός* (Vgl. J. Zandee, *The Terminology of Plotinus and of Some Gnostic Writings*, Leiden 1961, S. 23).

Weder bei Euagrius noch in der Gnosis ist das Wort "Sünde" beliebt (Guillaumont, S. 66/67). Der Fehler der Geschöpfe ist der Mangel an Erkenntnis. Auch die "Bewegung" ist ein Merkmal der Unvollkommenheit. Bei Euagrius ist die Bewegung *(κίνησις)* der *λογικοί* die Entfernung von der Einheit (S. 38, 104, 105, 282, 312). Nach dem Evangelium Veritatis (22. 23) gelangt der Erlöser zu

den Orten, aus denen die Geschöpfe "sich entfernt hatten" (wörtlich "sich bewegen aus"). Wie die Vielheit wieder zur Einheit zurückkehren soll, so soll die "Bewegung" zu "Ruhe" *(ἀνάπαυσις)* werden (vgl. dazu die Begriffe *στάσις* und *κίνησις* im Platonismus). Der Zustand der Erkenntnisverringerung ist ein Schlaf (Guillaumont, S. 321; Evangelium Veritatis 29. 9), aus dem man erwachen soll. Die Entfernung vom ewigen Lichte ist eine Erkältung *(ψυχή-ἐψύχθαι,* Guillaumont S. 85, 105); vgl. dazu Evangelium Veritatis 34. 18: "aus unserem ursprünglichen Geruch, der kalt geworden ist"; 34. 26 f.: "die kalten Gerüche sind also von der Trennung. Deshalb kam das Vertrauen, es beseitigte die Trennung und brachte das warme *πλήρωμα* der Liebe, damit die Kälte nicht wieder entstehe, sondern damit die Einheit des vollkommenen Denkens verwirklicht sei." Die Trennung vom Vater bedeutet also eine Erkältung.

Es gibt verschiedene Ordnungen *(τάξις,* Guillaumont S. 39, 105, 106, 256, 313): Engel, Menschen und Dämonen. Nach gnostischer Anschauung gibt es drei Geschlechter *(γένος),* nämlich das pneumatische, das psychische und das hylische Geschlecht. Diese drei Geschlechter sind nicht dasselbe wie die drei verschiedenen Ordnungen. Sie sind nur mit ihnen vergleichbar (vgl. F. M. M. Sagnard, *La Gnose Valentinienne,* Paris 1947, S. 173; Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I. 6. 1). Die drei Geschlechter werden im vierten Traktat des Codex Jung auch *τάγμα* oder *τάξις* genannt.

Man hat Euagrius oft seine subordinatianische Christologie vorgeworfen. Er unterscheidet Christus vom Logos (Guillaumont S. 39, 85, 97, 118, 147–149, 152, 153). Christus partizipiert am Logos, ist aber nicht dieser selber. Auch im Gnostizismus gibt es einen, vergleichbaren Unterschied. Der Sohn gehört zur ersten Tetras, der Logos zur zweiten. Vom Logos und Leben gehen Christus (der zugleich idealer Mensch ist) und Kirche aus. Der Retter folgt danach auf einer niederen Stufe und der irdische Jesus wird vom himmlischen Christus unterschieden (Sagnard, *op. cit.,* S. 301 f; S. 317).

Im Origenismus (Guillaumont S. 155) wie im Gnostizismus besteht die Erlösung darin, dass Christus die Erkenntnis des Vaters gibt.

Origenes und Euagrius lehrten die Präexistenz der Seelen. Freilich waren sie präexistent als intelligible Wesen und wurden erst nach der Vereinigung mit einem Körper "Seelen". Der gnostische Brief an Rheginos sagt vom All: "Bevor es entstand, war es" (46. 39–47. 1). Das All, die Ganzheit der Äonen, steht der Summe der Pneumatiker sehr nahe. Ihr geistlicher Kern war schon im "Himmel", ehe er sich mit einem zeitlichen Körper vereinte.

Es gibt gewiss Unterschiede zwischen Origenismus und Gnostizismus. Nicht gnostisch ist z.B., 1.) dass die präexistenten Geister

sich in Seelen "ändern", 2.) die Lehre von der ersten und zweiten Schöpfung (= Überkleidung mit einem Körper), 3.) das Fehlen eines Demiurgen, usw. Wenn Christus im Unterschied vom Logos "die zweiten Wesen" schöpft (Guillaumont S. 155), steht er aber einem Demiurgen sehr nahe. Jedenfalls stimmen Gnosis und Origenismus darin überein, dass sie die Schöpfung einer fehlerhaften Welt nicht dem höchsten Gott zuschreiben wollen.

Die beiden Systeme sind in den Hauptlinien durchaus vergleichbar. Beide sind vom griechischen zyklischen Denken beeinflusst, das einen anderen Typus vergegenwärtigt als das historische Denken des Christentums. Die Geschichte ist kein echtes "Geschehen" sondern ein Prozess des Ausgangs und der Wiederkehr. Eine Vielheit geistiger Wesen geht von der Einheit aus und kehrt zu ihr zurück, sodass das Ende dem Anfang gleich ist (Anathema XV, Konzil 553; Guillaumont S. 146); vgl. Evangelium Veritatis 37. 37 f.: "Das Ende aber ist das Zurkenntnisnehmen des Verborgenen. Dieser aber ist der Vater, von dem der Anfang ausgegangen ist, zu dem alle, die von ihm ausgegangen sind, zurückkehren werden." Die rechte Erkenntnis wird gegeben, "damit das Ende werde wie der Anfang gewesen ist" (4. Traktat, 127. 23/24). Die consummatio, die endgültige Wiederherstellung, *ἀποκατάστασις*, spielt im Origenismus und bei den Gnostikern eine vornehme Rolle, wobei die letzteren gerne von der Rückkehr ins Pleroma sprechen. Von einer totalen Auflösung der Individuen in Gott wollte Euagrius nichts wissen. Sein Nachfolger und Kommentator Stephan Bar Sudaili aber hat diesen letzten Schritt getan (Guillaumont S. 324). Und auch hier lässt sich ein Vergleich mit dem Gnostizismus ziehen, der eine *ἀνάκρασις* oder *σύγκρασις* der Pneumateile mit dem Vater als Schlussphase alles Geschehens kennt, vgl. Evangelium Veritatis 25. 3 f.: "Von diesem Augenblick an ist die äussere Gestalt nicht mehr sichtbar, sondern sie wird sich in der Vermischung mit der Einheit auflösen."

Vielleicht tun wir besser daran, wenn wir nicht von einem gnostischen Einfluss auf den Origenismus sprechen und vielmehr annehmen, dass der Origenismus und der Gnostizismus weitgehend vom griechischen Denken durchsetzt und abhängig waren, und dass die gemeinsamen Vorstellungen sich aus dieser Tatsache herleiten lassen.

Utrecht, Lessinglaan 3 J. ZANDEE

Edeltraut Staimer, *Die Schrift „De Spiritu Sancto" von Didymus dem Blinden von Alexandrien. Eine Untersuchung zur altchristlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte.* München 1960. 173 S. und 12 S. Register. (Das Buch kann zum Preis von DM 8.— nur bezogen werden durch die Buchhandlung L. Zink, München, 22, Ludwigstrasse.)

Didymus der Blinde (c. 313–398) war der letzte grosse Leiter der alexandrinischen Katechetenschule. Da er sich in seiner Theologie auf verschiedenen Punkten dem Origenes anschloss, wurde er nach seinem Tode zum Ketzer erklärt; etliche seiner Werken sind deswegen verloren gegangen. Sein Hauptwerk, De trinitate l. III (381–392), ist gegen den Arianismus und Mazedonianismus gerichtet. Das Buch De Spiritu Sancto besitzen wir nur in der lateinischen Übersetzung seines Schülers und Freundes Hieronymus. Hierüber handelt die vorliegende Münchener Dissertation. Obwohl es schwer ist genaue Entscheidungen zu fassen auf Grund einer Übersetzung und ohne das Original, hat die Verfasserin annehmlich gemacht, dass die Schrift in die Jahre 355–358 zu datieren sei, d.h. in die Frühperiode, als noch niemand in die Diskussion zur Verteidigung der angehenden trinitarischen Geistlehre eingegriffen hatte; sie ist also auch noch unabhängig von den Arbeiten der Kappadozier. Die Schrift wurde indessen erst einige Jahre nach dem 2. ökumenischen Konzil veröffentlicht und von Hieronymus übersetzt; die Veranlassung der Übersetzung was einerseits der Wunsch, dem Ambrosius unangenehm zu sein, andererseits der Umstand, dass die noch wenig technische Sprache die Lektüre dieser Schrift ziemlich leicht machte; der dogmatische Formulierungsstand des De Spiritu Sancto weist somit auf eine *erste* Befassung mit dem Thema hin (S. 115. 116. 120). Weiter meint die Verfasserin mit Recht, dass dem dogmenhistorischen und kirchenpolitischen Umschwung der Synode von 362, die eine fertige Dreihypostasenlehre mit voller Homousie der Trinität gelehrt hat, eine lange Vorbereitung vorangegangen sein muss, und dass die Schrift De Spiritu Sancto (wie auch des Athanasius Briefe an Serapion, 133) dieser Periode der Vorbereitung zuzuschreiben ist.

Der zweite Teil (S. 39–116) gibt eine sorgfältige Auswertung der in De Spiritu Sancto ausgeführten Trinitätstheologie.

Leiden, Rapenburg 40 J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink

J. Pépin, *Théologie cosmique et théologie chrétienne (Ambroise, Exam. I 1, 1–4)*. Paris, P.U.F., 1964. Pp. 598. Pr. NF. 36,—.

Que l'auteur lui-même introduise son ouvrage: « Le titre et le sous-titre de ce travail en décrivent le double objet. Le point de départ est une analyse philologique et une recherche des sources du document doxographique qui occupe le premier chapitre de l'*Exameron* de saint Ambroise. Mais on ne comprendrait guère qu'un simple commentaire littéraire, aussi minutieux qu'on le suppose, s'étendît à tant de pages; il faut qu'un autre dessein s'y soit ajouté. En effet, la doxographie d'Ambroise, malgré sa brièveté, porte un témoignage de premier ordre, bien que pratiquement inexploité jusqu'aujourd'hui, sur plusieurs problèmes de la

plus haute importance dans l'histoire de la pensée ancienne; elle évoque les principaux thèmes et les orientations maîtresses de la théologie cosmique des Grecs, et elle en amorce la critique au nom de la tradition chrétienne » (p. 1).

Le livre de M. Pépin se développe selon le plan suivant. Le texte relevant de saint Ambroise contient quatre paragraphes, dont les trois premiers ont un caractère proprement doxographique. Un examen préliminaire de ces trois paragraphes, qui témoigne d'une érudition enviable, présente, en dehors d'une influence probable d'Hippolyte, une couleur aristotélicienne de ces textes. La deuxième partie porte sur le paragraphe 4, dans lequel l'auteur découvre les traces d'une critique épicurienne d'une doctrine qui semble être celle du jeune Aristote. La découverte présumée de cette trace du jeune Aristote fait revenir l'auteur sur les trois paragraphes précédents. Ces recherches, dans lesquelles il étudie avec une grande subtilité et une ingéniosité admirable toutes les propositions et tous les mots du texte d'Ambroise, aboutissent à la thèse qu'on trouve dans ces premiers paragraphes de l'*Exameron* les traces du *De philosophia* du jeune Aristote.

Les questions concernant l'ouvrage du jeune Aristote sont, on le sait, des plus problématiques de l'histoire de la philosophie antique. Grâce à sa connaissance formidable de tout le terrain doxographique, M. Pépin a montré qu'il est possible de retracer avec une grande probabilité une partie remarquable de la pensée du jeune Aristote, spécialement de sa théologie cosmique. Cette découverte est d'une extrême importance pour notre idée de l'évolution de la philosophie classique. On voit maintenant plus clairement comment les premiers écrits d'Aristote, qui pendant les premiers siècles après sa mort étaient plus connus que les œuvres aristotéliciennes classiques, ont influencé les autres écoles, notamment les Stoïciens.

Il n'est pas possible de donner dans ces quelques lignes une impression de la richesse de ce livre magnifique. On y trouve des enquêtes sur tous les grands problèmes de la philosophie antique concernant les principes des choses, la théologie cosmique et le culte du monde, avec la réaction des auteurs chrétiens. Car, il ne faut pas l'oublier, le dessein principal de l'auteur est « d'évoquer l'affrontement de la théologie chrétienne primitive et de la théologie cosmique grecque » (p. 11). Parfois l'auteur semble rôder loin de son but, mais aussi ces apparentes digressions, déjà très intéressantes en soi, contribuent toujours au but de l'ouvrage; ainsi par exemple la discussion sur le terme *ἐνδελέχεια* ou *ἐντελέχεια* dans la définition de l'âme d'Aristote (p. 206ss.). Parfois ces digressions aboutissent à la découverte de nouvelles traces des ouvrages perdus, entre autres d'Origène et de Porphyre.

Quelques remarques. Quant au terme *opinio* au commencement du texte d'Ambroise (*Tantumne opinionis adsumpsisse homines*) M. Pépin observe avec raison que l'emploi de ce terme est certaine-

ment péjoratif (p. 48). On rencontre la même acception du terme grec *οἴησις*, p. ex. Méthode d'Olympe, *Le Banquet*, ch. 230 *οἳ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς μετ' οἰήσεως καταναλίσκουσι χρόνον*: « des individus, qui gaspillent dans la présomption le temps de leur vie » (trad. de M. Debidour, Sources chrétiennes 95). Or, dans sa première homélie sur l'Hexaéméron saint Basile dit à propos de *Gen* I 1 : *Ἀρχὴν πρῶτον ἐπέθηκεν, ἵνα μὴ ἄναρχον αὐτὸν* (sc. *τὸν κόσμον*) *οἰηθῶσί τινες*. Ne trouve-t-on ici l'origine du terme *opinio* et l'idée fondamentale de tout le passage d'Ambroise?

Concernant le texte d'*Exam.* I 2,5: *ipsum esse creatorem mundi, non idea quadam duce imitatorem materiae, ex qua non ad arbitrium suum sed ad speciem propositam sua opera confirmaret*, on lit: « Ambroise lui-même refuse ainsi de soumettre le Dieu créateur à l'impérialisme de l'Idée, qui le réduirait à n'être que l'imitateur d'un modèle préexistant, au lieu de suivre son bon plaisir » (p. 51). Cette interprétation ne fait pas valoir suffisamment l'idée caractéristique du saint Ambroise. Il ne parle pas de Dieu comme un imitateur d'un modèle, mais comme un imitateur de la matière (sous la direction de l'Idée). Ailleurs dans ce périodique (*Vig. Chr.* 18 (1964), 144–145) j'ai essayé d'indiquer l'origine de cette idée d'une matière active, dont Dieu est appelé « l'imitateur et le disciple », à savoir le Manichéisme. C'est pourquoi les remarques de l'auteur sur l'origine stoïcienne de la théorie des deux principes chez Ambroise, une puissance créatrice et une matière passive (p. 356ss.) ont, à mon avis, besoin d'un complément. Dans le même article j'ai cité quelques textes qui, à l'encontre de ce que l'auteur dit p. 57, semblent indiquer une dépendance d'Ambroise à l'égard de Tertullien.

J'espère que l'auteur voudra prendre ces remarques comme un témoignage de ma plus grande admiration de son ouvrage vraiment magistral.

Reste à dire qu'on trouve à la fin du volume une table de matière très détaillée, précédée d'un index des textes cités et un index bibliographique, dans lequel l'auteur a indiqué après chaque titre les pages de son livre où il a fait usage de l'ouvrage cité. Cet exemple mérite d'être imité.

Rotterdam, Rosaliastraat 4 J. C. M. VAN WINDEN, O.F.M.

Aurelius Augustinus, *Der christliche Kampf und Die christliche Lebensweise*. Übertragen von P. Andreas Habitzky OESA, eingeleitet und erläutert von P. DDr. Adolar Zumkeller OESA (S. Augustinus – Der Seelsorger. Deutsche Gesamtausgabe seiner

moraltheologischen Schriften, im Auftrage der deutschen Provinz der Augustiner Eremiten herausgegeben von P. Dr. Lect. A. Kunzelmann OESA und P. DDr. Lect. A. Zumkeller OESA). Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1961. XXIX, 85 S. Pr. DM 12.–.

Augustins Schriften De agone christiano und De disciplina christiana liegen vermutlich zeitlich nicht weit voneinander (ungefähr 397–400). Es besteht allerdings die Möglichkeit, dass die letztere Schrift etwas später zu datieren ist, aber auch wenn das der Fall sein sollte, so berechtigt doch die Ähnlichkeit des Inhalts den Entschluss, beide Abhandlungen zusammen in einem Bändchen den Studierenden vorzulegen, zumal die zweite noch keine deutsche Übersetzung gefunden hat.

P. Zumkeller vermutet auf Grund der Retraktationen, dass De agone christiano aus einer oder zwei Predigten erwachsen ist, die Augustinus – vielleicht in der punischen Landessprache (*humili sermone*) – für Taufbewerber gehalten hat, und dass er ihr bei der Überarbeitung ins Lateinische den bekannten Titel gegeben hat (S. XVI). Mit Recht sagt P. Zumkeller, dass dieser Titel freilich nur für einen Teil des Inhalts zutreffend ist. Das könnte sicher auf eine Zusammenstellung aus zwei Teilen hinweisen, obwohl es auch ohnedies keine Seltenheit ist, dass Augustin von seinem ursprunglichen Thema während des Sprechens oder Predigens ziemlich weit abweicht. Hier handelt es sich um den christlich-moralischen Kampf (I–XIII 14) und um die rechte, antihäretische Kirchenlehre (XIII 15-Schluss). Einleitung und Erläuterungen sind deutlich und gediegen. Es hätte nur noch mehr benachdruckt sein können, dass die Antwort Augustins auf die Einwendung: *non poterat aliter sapientia Dei homines liberare nisi susciperet hominem* etc. (XI 12), die mit *poterat omnino* eingeleitet wird, kulminiert in den Worten: *si non essent facta illa omnia quae stultissimis displicent*, d.h. dass keine wirkliche Erlösung und keine faktische Heiligung des Menschen möglich und sogar denkbar sei ohne die Inkarnation und das Heilswerk Christi. De Trin. XIII, III 13 sagt Augustin, dass es *sanandae nostrae miseriae convenientiorem modum alium* nicht gibt. Das will eben dasselbe besagen und nicht, wie Harnack einmal gemeint hat, eine relative Angemessenheit (Dogmengesch. III 129). Nur gegen den Hintergrund des objectiven Heilswerks Christi versteht man die eigentliche Tiefe und den Ernst von Augustins moralischen Unterweisungen. Die Übersetzung lässt sich gut lesen. Der Übersetzer liest IV 4 wie CSEL: *ut inde involvatur et illigetur malitiae sepulcrum* – „womit das Grab der Bosheit umschnürt und umschlungen werde", während die Mauriner *sepulcro* lasen: „womit er an das Grab der Bosheit gefesselt und gebunden werde"; ich meine die letztere Lesart vorziehen zu dürfen (S. 5).

Über die Bearbeitung der Schrift De disciplina christiana ist auch nur Gutes zu sagen. Die Übersetzung „Die christliche Lebens-

weise", die sehr ausführlich erklärt wird (S. XXIV–XXIX), scheint mir sehr gut zu verteidigen zu sein; eine bessere gibt es in diesem Fall für das vielseitige *disciplina* nicht, jedenfalls nicht ein einzelnes Wort. Die Schrift ist eine nicht immer sofort verständliche Predigt mit vielen Paradoxen und überraschenden Gedanken. Sie trägt auch die Spuren des Stenogramms (XIX). Wäre es nicht annehmlicher in XII 13: *Quotidie enim rogas, ut quoniam mors ventura est, bonam mortem tibi Deus det, et dicis, Deus avertat a me malam mortem. Plus ergo amas mortem tuam quam vitam tuam. Mori male times, male vivere non times. Corrige male vivere, time male mori* den zweiten und dritten Satz umzuwechseln? — Es ist nur zu bedauern, dass man den lateinischen Text nicht beigegeben hat.

Leiden, Rapenburg 40 J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink

Defensor de Ligugé, *Livre d'étincelles*, I: ch. 1–32, II: ch. 33–81. Introduction, texte, traduction et notes de H.-M. Rochais, O.S.B. (Sources Chrétiennes, 77, 86). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1961, 1962. Pp. 418, 350. Pr. Fr. 18.–, 15.–.

The *Liber scintillarum* is a collection of sentences drawn from the Bible and the works of the Fathers which was composed between A.D. 632, the year in which Isidore of Sevilla, the most recent of the cited authors, died, and A.D. 750, the date of the oldest extant manuscript, now preserved at Würzburg. A prologue, found in 32 manuscripts, mentions Defensor, a monk of Ligugé, as its author.

This florilegium evidently met a want and became very popular: the fact that nowadays more than 350 manuscripts are known justifies the inference that virtually each mediaeval library possessed a copy of it; still in the sixteenth century no fewer than eleven editions were published. So it is one of those works one has to take into account when studying the question whether the quotations of a mediaeval author were drawn directly or not from the original sources.

But the interest of the *Liber scintillarum* is not limited to the role it played in disseminating the knowledge of ancient Christian writings. The author has divided his extracts into 81 chapters dealing with various subjects. Most space is occupied by virtues and vices, and by religious activities; but also certain vocations, and even certain social relations are spoken of. In this way, that is, by the choice of the categories and of the sentences to be brought under them, the work, however unoriginal in itself, gives an insight into the spiritual life and social ideas of its author and, we may say on account of its popularity, of its age.

Seventeen authors are cited, all of them mentioned by name. More than half of the patristic quotations originate from Isidore of Sevilla and Gregory the Great. But it is remarkable that also

several Greek writers have been used: Eusebius and Origen (both in Rufinus' translation), Pseudo-Clement (*Epist.* II *ad Iacobum*, *Epist.* IV, *Recognitiones*), Josephus, and even Ephraim Syrus whose quotations sometimes reveal a text which is nearer to the Syriac original than that of our Greek manuscripts, as was pointed out by J. Kirchmeyer and D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou (*Saint Ephrem et le Liber scintillarum. A propos d'une édition récente*, RSR 46 (1958), 545/550). There are some interesting false attributions: for instance, the *De vita contemplativa* by Julian Pomerius is put under the name of Ambrose; of Basil the author only knew the unauthentic *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*, which, accordingly, was ascribed to the Cappadocian as early as the end of the seventh century; under the name of Augustine passages are quoted which are found in the collection of sermons *Ad fratres in eremo* generally considered to be a falsification of the twelfth or thirteenth century. So the *Liber scintillarum* offers valuable testimony about the diffusion of Latin patristic writings and of the translations of Greek ones in this dark age. The same applies to the history of the text of the Latin Bible, for more than once the text of Defensor's quotations shows divergences from that of the Vulgate.

After having published several preparative articles Dom Rochais gave a critical edition of the *Liber scintillarum* in the *Corpus Christianorum* in 1957. The present edition in the series of "Sources Chrétiennes" is based on the same manuscripts, but it is by no means a mere reproduction. The text is now accompanied by a good translation and useful notes. The number of unidentified quotations has been reduced to 200 (out of a total of 2505!). Drawing on his just-mentioned articles Dom Rochais gives a more elaborate discussion of the identity of Defensor, his purpose and method, the two redactions of the Prologue – the longer of which he proves to be authentic –, the interpretation of Holy Scripture which underlies the choice and grouping of the biblical quotations, the place of the work in the history of the genre of florilegia, and its interest as a "livre spirituel".

As to the title of the work Dom Rochais thinks that apart from denoting a short sentence the word *scintilla* evokes the ideas of compunction and of ardent charity or faith resulting from the reading of Holy Scripture. The former of these suggestions, based upon a supposed relation between *scintilla* and *stinctum* = *punctum*, is impossible and not supported by any of the passages quoted; regarding the latter it must be observed that it is always the context or an added genitive (e.g. *scintilla fidei*, Caes. Arel. *Serm.* 43, p. 184/5 Morin) which defines the special metaphorical use of *scintilla*. The meaning which Defensor attributed to this word becomes clear from the Prologue where it is used first in a collective sense, denoting the whole collection of sentences (*De domini et sanctorum suorum dictis est excerpta scintilla*, l. 4/5), then of the

individual sentences: *paginas quasque scrutans, sententiam reperiens fulgentem, sicuti inventans quis margaritam aut gemmam ita avidus collegi. ... Veluti de igne procedunt scintillae, ita huc minutae sententiae pluribus ex libris inveniuntur fulgentes scripturarum inter hoc scintillarum volumen. Quod qui legere vult laborem sibi amputat; ne per ceteras paginas iterando lassescat: hic habetur quod reperiri desiderat* (1. 7/9. 13/8). So for Defensor *scintillae* are short sentences which are not only striking by their brilliant form – like sparks flying off a fire –, but by their happy formulation of a certain idea save one the trouble of reading an extensive exposition. It would have been worth-while to make a closer inquiry into the origin of this metaphorical use of *scintilla*. Professor Courcelle (REA 63 (1961), 538) thinks that it is derived from the *lumina sententiarum* dealt with by Cicero in the *Orator* and the *De oratore*, which seems hardly probable, since this term refers to the rhetorical embellishment of any argument with the help of certain figures of speech (cf. *Orat.* 136/9; *Brut.* 140/1. 275; *De orat.* 3,201/8; for the general meaning of the term cf. *Orat.* 136: *nec quidquam est aliud dicere nisi omnes aut certe plerasque aliqua specie illuminare sententias*).

The manuscripts are only summarily dealth with, as a detailed discussion of them had been given in the edition of 1957 and in the author's article *Defensoriana. Archéologie du Liber scintillarum*, Sacr. Erud. 9 (1957), 199/264. Also for a study of the linguistic peculiarities of the text Dom Rochais refers to the critical edition. In the oldest manuscripts, on which the edition is based, the work is written in Merovingian Latin. In the present edition, however, the text has been normalized. This is motivated as follows: "La collection 'Sources Chrétiennes' s'adressant à un public moins limité que celui des seuls spécialistes du bas latin, la présentation du *Liber scintillarum* dans cette collection imposait, non seulement de traduire le texte, mais d'en rendre le latin moins hermétique" (1, p. 28). On this account it is to be regretted that the critical apparatus has been very much reduced, although, fortunately, all passages where the interpretation provides difficulties are dealt with there and in the notes. It is noteworthy that in some forty cases the text of the present edition is different from that of the critical edition, because the editor either has returned to the reading of the most important manuscript or has made a new correction.

Five indexes (Index scripturaire, Index des auteurs, Citations non localisées, Liste alphabétique des titres latins, Liste alphabétique des titres français) add to the usefulness of this admirable edition.

The Hague, Sportlaan 1216 P. G. VAN DER NAT

The Cambridge History of the Bible. The West from the Reformation to the Present Day. Edited by S. L. Greenslade. Cambridge, University Press, 1963. Pp. X, 590. Pr. 45 sh.

This is a very useful volume, which gives evidence of sound scholarship. The general subject being the Bible in the West from the Reformation to the present day, the chapter by Roland H. Bainton on the Bible in the Reformation forms an apt introduction. The next chapter, by Basil Hall, on "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries", gives a careful, exact, and therefore very instructive, survey of the awakening of humanistic biblical studies etc. in the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the "res publica litterarum", the pulling down of the old scholastic methods and the springing up of the "conviction that by clarity of expression based upon quickening spirit of the languages of the prophets and apostles, the World of the living God would renew the world" (p. 47). In this chapter as well as in the two next ones, written by different authors, on the versions of the Bible to c. 1600 all over Europe and in England, the influence of the humanistic studies and the "bonae litterae" on the theologically motivated Bible-production of the Reformation is clear on almost every page. Chapter VIII dealing with "The Rise of Modern Biblical Scholarship and Recent Discussion of the Authority of the Bible", by Alan Richardson, is very instructive to anyone who desires a more exact knowledge of the great development of biblical studies during the nineteenth century and in our own days. An admirably produced chapter (XII) has been contributed by M. H. Black concerning "The Printed Bible", or the history of Bible-printing from the beginning up to our times. A number of 48 plates has been added and two indexes. I am sorry to state that the paragraphs on the Dutch versions (p. 122–125; 352-354) do not give any bibliography.

The next volume to be edited by Professor Lampe, will cover the period from the Fathers to the Renaissance.

Leiden, Rapenburg 40 J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink